

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

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Five million more in poverty

One hour after the House of Commons had adjourned for the summer break, the Government released the worst poverty figures of the twentieth century.

These figures show that over 16 million people are living in poverty – nearly 1 in 3 of the population of Britain. The poverty line is defined as up to 40% above supplementary benefit level. Between 1979 and 1983, numbers of those living at this level rose sharply from 11.5 million to 16.3 million. In the same period, numbers in direct poverty below supplementary benefit level (£29.40 per week for a single person) rose from 2 million to 2.7 million.

At the same time, the Tories have launched further savage attacks upon social security benefits. Cuts of £100 million a year have been made in single payments for essential items to the poorest claimants. Changes in the formula for calculating housing benefit have cut a further £100 million.

The Social Security Bill, which has finished its passage through Parliament more or less intact, will legitimise still more assaults upon the poor. This Act will slash old age pensions, and will force even those below the poverty line to pay 20% of rates bills. Claimants under 25 will lose £6.60 per week, and their housing benefit will be cut. The right to appeal to independent tribunals will be abolished. Disabled claimants could lose up to £30 a week.

These moves, carried out amid the usual 'scroungers' hysteria, with yet more 'fraud investigators' appointed to harass claimants, are part of a consistent ruling class policy. Board and lodging restrictions create an itinerant class of homeless youth, forced to sleep rough. The Wages Bill plans to abolish Wages Council protection for workers under 21. The government plans to repeal laws that control the hours and times of work of those aged 16–18. Meanwhile, official August figures from 'Economic Trends' show that one third of all incomes accrues to the richest 10%.

The crisis in the capitalist system means that the ruling class can only attempt to restore the rate of profit by attacking the conditions of the working class. It is clear that this task has been undertaken with characteristic ruthlessness.

Dave Burton

CENTRE PAGES

Viraj Mendis
here to stay
here to fight



August 14: Dundalk. A crate of petrol bombs explode at the feet of the Garda who escorted Loyalists to Peter Robinson's court appearance in the Twenty Six Counties.

Loyalists wage sectarian war

Loyalist terror attacks against the nationalist community in the Six Counties have escalated over the summer period bringing the death toll to nine with hundreds more injured. Sectarian attacks are at their highest level since 1969. In the past four months at least 300 families have been forced to flee their homes. Catholics are being hounded from their workplaces by death threats such as those made at Shorts factory. No action has been taken by the British government to defend the nationalist community. On the contrary, alongside loyalist terror, RUC and British army brutality have continued unabated. Far from providing any reforms or improvements for the nationalist community, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, like all previous British 'solutions' has merely exposed once again the sectarian reality of the Six County statelet.

A cold-blooded campaign of murder is now a central part of the loyalist strategy against the Anglo-Irish deal. Their aim is to force the British government to abandon the Agreement and back up loyalist supremacy and crude sectarianism with force. As Sinn Fein's Paddy McManus said:

'Far from being the work of a handful

of crazed killers, as certain Loyalists would have us believe, it is becoming increasingly clear that the murder campaign is carefully controlled and politically orchestrated with the aim of instilling the maximum amount of terror in the nationalist people.'

The horrific catalogue of recent loyalist terror includes:

* On 27 August the loyalist murder gangs claimed their ninth victim. Paddy McAllister, a black-taxi driver from the Falls Road, was murdered when gunmen burst into his home and shot him between 5 and 7 times at point blank range.

* On two recent occasions only the jamming of the loyalists' guns has prevented murder. On 4 August gunmen walked into a Cleansing Depot on Shankill Road and tried to assassinate a Catholic inspector. He managed to run away when their gun jammed but was wounded as he escaped. On 10 August outside the Mater Hospital in Belfast, a nurse and her two companions escaped injury when the would-be assassin's gun jammed.

* On 10 August Brendan McGeown escaped death only by jumping into a river, where he was fired at but managed to submerge himself.

* On 2 August in Twinbrook a taxi with

five passengers was fired on from a car which drew alongside. The driver was hit twice and a passenger injured.

On the same evening within 25 yards of this incident, a car sped down the road narrowly missing a youth. It then did a U-turn and returned at high speed ploughing into four young people who suffered numerous injuries including broken bones, head and back injuries.

* A nationalist youth, whose father was murdered by loyalist assassins several years ago, was attacked by a gang. He suffered leg wounds.

* On 1 August Hugh Gault was shot in the leg and neck by gunmen. Only three days earlier his wife had pleaded in a newspaper interview for petrol bomb attacks on their home to stop.

Loyalist mobs have also been laying siege to Catholics' homes. For the past two months Catholic families on the edge of the New Lodge ghetto have been attacked nightly by loyalist gangs. On one evening an RUC patrol sat in their landrover and watched as 40 loyalists smashed every window in one house and attacked the front door with hatchets. Next door they threw a brick through a window narrowly missing a three week old baby and breaking her mother's leg.

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Soweto explodes

Soweto township's explosion of anger against army, police and local stooges of the regime has shown that even the draconian State of Emergency has not been able to crush the struggle of the black masses against apartheid. Many more than the official figure of 21 black people are believed to have been massacred in the fighting which broke out on the night of 25 August and lasted throughout the next day. Residents reported indiscriminate shooting by the police and army as they fought to gain control of the township. Mainly armed with stones, knives and sticks, the workers and youth took on the armed beast, throwing up roadblocks of burning cars, and once again showed the world the reality of Botha's apartheid and his 'reforms'. Significantly, the South African Bureau of 'Information' made no mention, in its report of the massacre, of the armed defence of the people of the townships by AK47-armed cadres. This, for the South African regime, spells the beginning of the end as the people show their ability to fight fire with fire.

The trigger for the explosion was the attempted eviction of residents in one of the poorest areas of Soweto township for non-payment of rent. It is estimated that the stooge local councils in black areas are losing R30m (£7.7m) per month as a result of the rent boycott which started in 1984. The rent rises imposed by local unelected councils sparked the wave of militancy and mass protest in South Africa – which two State of Emergencies, mass detentions, torture, murder and censorship have now proved unable to contain. The people of Soweto township proved in the week of 25 August onwards that the black people of South Africa have not been defeated and are prepared and able

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Kinnock and Willis: dirty deals at TUC

It is a sign of the times that delegates arriving at this year's TUC conference will be asked by the TUC general council to vote in favour of statutory pre-strike ballots. The proposal, contained in a joint TUC/Labour Party document *New Rights, New Responsibilities*, is a triumph for Kinnock and sets the seal on yet another year of political retreat for the trade union movement.

Last year, a dirty deal was reached to allow the EETPU and AEU to stay inside the TUC despite the fact that they were flouting TUC policy on taking state cash for ballots. This year, things have gone several more steps backwards. The TUC itself is now arguing for the retention of secret ballots before strikes under a future Labour government, and is again seeking to protect the scabbing EETPU and others by trying to prevent debate on Wapping.

News International continues into its eighth month. The Wapping dispute has seen continuing attacks on workers rights through the courts and the continuing scabbing of EETPU, NUJ and TGWU members. Early on in the dispute, the TUC voted not to direct the EETPU scabs to stop work. The NGA has put a motion to the TUC conference calling for this decision to be reversed. TUC leaders set up the talks between print unions and News International in the week

This puts the TUC under pressure as they know only too well that at least 100,000 workers work in the nuclear or related industries, many represented by the powerful EETPU. In addition, the nuclear issue promises to be an embarrassing one for Kinnock at the Labour Party conference. His delicately balanced position of saying both yes and no to nuclear power, would not be helped if the TUC came out firmly against it. Thus Willis and the TUC general council have put forward a classic fudge, the sole aim of which is to prevent the TUC conference coming to a decision. Their document calls for a 'halt on new installations until a thorough review has been carried out'. Other points cover safety.



Left, Mick McGahey who along with Norman Willis (right) has sought to isolate Arthur Scargill

The election of a Labour government now takes priority over every issue facing the movement. This is the reason behind all the manoeuvres prior to this year's conference. No issue is important enough to be allowed to cause divisions on the conference floor and hence to be a potential embarrassment to Kinnock's election chances.

Despite the fact that the unions have resisted the introduction of compulsory secret ballots at every stage since Barbara Castle's *In Place of Strife* under the Labour government of 1964-70, it is argued that this year ballots must be accepted because Kinnock wants them. He needs ballots to convince middle ground voters and the media that trade unions are safe, respectable and under Labour's control. The lone left wing voice of Arthur Scargill has been almost completely isolated by the connivings of Kinnock and his cronies, who range from Hammond of the scabbing EETPU to 'Communist' Party members like McGahey in the NUM.

For a while it looked likely that a group of unions including TASS, NALGO, NUPE, NUM, NGA and the TGWU would oppose statutory secret ballots. However, with only two weeks to go to conference most of them have been leaned on, and a compromise has been reached, opposed only by TASS and the NUM. Central to the backing down was the TGWU who agreed to drop an amendment seeking to delete all references to statutory pre-strike ballots. Instead they have replaced it with a clause which calls for unions to be allowed 'to take other industrial action both in dispute with the employer and in solidarity with other workers'. While this is not unimportant, it does not hide the TGWU's capitulation. 'We were never opposed to the Labour Party' Ron Todd, leader of the TGWU assures us. Once again the election of Kinnock has overridden all—in this case one of the last vestiges of working class rights to run their own affairs.

Whilst Kinnock and Willis try to focus trade unionists' eyes on a rosy future under a Labour government, the lockout of 5,500 printworkers by

before conference in the hope that this would persuade the NGA to drop their motion, and thus avoid an embarrassing confrontation with scab leader Eric Hammond on the floor of the conference. However, it looks as though the TUC's shabby ploy has failed as the NGA are refusing to withdraw their motion.

Yet another compromise has been proposed in order to avoid embarrassing Kinnock: this time on the question of nuclear power. Two days before conference, Willis has taken the almost unbelievable step of asking for all motions on nuclear power to be dropped. Up to now, the TUC position has been to support a 'balanced' nuclear policy, ie one including nuclear power. However, since Chernobyl, a number of major unions have changed their position and are now against nuclear power.

secrecy, abolition of the military link and the expansion of coal-fired capacity. Anything, in fact, except facing the central issue—that would prove too embarrassing for Kinnock.

FRFI has always stated that the TUC and Labour Party only represent the interests of a privileged layer in the working class. This year, this point seems clearer than ever, when, at a time of massive attacks on workers' rights, and of record poverty and unemployment, TUC and Labour Party leaders seem interested only in conspiring to prevent debate, and in arguing for a continuation of curbs on workers' rights. All this for the sake of electing Kinnock, who has already made it clear that the interests of the poor and oppressed will be well down the list for a future Labour government.

Olivia Adamson

Poverty, disease and death

As unemployment and poverty reach record levels, recently published official figures show that the poor are increasingly suffering ill health, and dying early.

The report 'Occupational Mortality' by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) shows that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are well over twice as likely to die before middle age as those in professional or managerial jobs. The wives of men in social classes 4 and 5 are 70% more likely to die young than those in classes 1 and 2. The report, which covers the first 4 years of the Thatcher government, 1979-83, reveals a rapidly widening gap between the health of rich and poor. Thus, compared with the Black report, which used 1972 data, the premature death rate for the poorest has risen from 90% above the richest to 120% above: an increase of 30%. For the wives of the poorest workers, there has been an increase of 14%.

The report also shows a clear link between cervical cancer and the jobs of male partners. Further, it shows that power station electricians have twice the average risk of contracting leukaemia: although no figures for nuclear power stations are given.

When the DHSS commissioned Black report was published in 1980, the government tried to suppress it. Similarly, the OPCS report, although ready in January, was delayed until the summer parliamentary recess. And for the first time since 1911, the detailed analysis of mortality across different classes was omitted from the report. This vital—and embarrassing—information was hidden away in 22,000 pages of microfiche tables, available to the public at £40, plus VAT.

Further, the figures only go up to 1983. Given the massive rise in unemployment since then, the gulf between rich and poor must be wider still. More recent figures, from the

As August closes a whole range of irons are in the fire. Recently, at the Broadway Hotel, Duns-croft, a social in honour of Arthur Scargill heard a local branch official declare, 'Although we aren't going to wash any dirty linen in public Arthur, we know what's been going on, we know about the manoeuvres against you. If there are sides to take, and if it comes to choosing one, then Hatfield Main branch stands four square with Arthur Scargill. While we make such a stand, rest assured, choose what little conspiracies of silence go on at National and Area level, this branch will seek to alert the rank and file who, like us, stand with you and for the continuation of the struggle, albeit by selective tactics'.

It is against this backdrop that rank and file/branch initiatives can be seen forcing the issues to centre stage, while those in levels of leadership hope to bury them. The rank and file comes up with tactics and perspectives at a time when 'official' leaders are stumped to offer ways forward.

While the National Conference was still in session and the Welsh leaders were telling Arthur how out of touch he was, and how the lads in Wales had no belly for a fight, the lads in Wales had actually successfully fought for and won an overtime ban, to force the Coal Board to settle the previous year's wage claims.

In Yorkshire, a resolution calling for an overtime ban to build up the pressure for a settlement has been advanced by my branch. At a mass meeting the rank and filers made it clear they didn't want a ban which allowed flexible shifts and bending of bait (snap) times etc. This was against my own view, as I thought it went too far at this time. However, my mandate is now to fight for an overtime ban without flexibility.

At the time of writing the hugely profitable Silverwood Colliery has also called a mass meeting to table the resolution. Meantime the Armthorpe Lodge has also submitted a resolution for an overtime ban. The stage seems set for a strong lobby at the next Area Council meeting for an overtime ban. The question should be put, and the delegates come up with a 'yes' or 'no' recommendation. The matter should then be referred back to branches for mass meetings and the vote of the rank and file whether or not to impose the ban. This is the way we have always done it and there is no need to alter the procedure now (like calling for ballots for example).

At the same time on 26 August, my colliery will stage a 24 hour strike in protest at the continued victimisation of all sacked miners—our three at Hatfield in particular. We remain the only colliery in Doncaster, if not Yorkshire, to have had not one of our sacked lads reinstated. Askern colliery is currently

Maternity Alliance, show that perinatal mortality (still-births and deaths in the first week) is twice as high for babies in social class 5 as in class 1. A joint report by MENCAP and the Office of Health Economics suggests that 1 million people in Britain have a mental handicap because of poverty.

The Tories' concern for health stretches only to the next election and to the profits of their friends. Thus Norman Fowler is looking anxiously at rising waiting lists—while offering bonuses of nearly £4,000 to Health Authority managers who make 'substantial closure programmes'. Fowler has agreed to increase the allowed profits drug companies can make from the NHS to 21% on capital employed, as the NHS drugs bill nears £2 billion per year.

Britain has one of the worst health records of any 'developed' nation. The rising class inequalities in health are indeed, in the words of Labour spokesman Michael Meacher, 'the stark reality of Thatcherite capitalism'. Yet the OPCS report shows with equal clarity the legacy of policies prior to 1979, and the effects on health of all capitalist governments—including Labour ones.

Dave Burton

Rank and file miners act in NUM



Commission report shows 'that the police lie, riot and beat up pickets, then arrest them to cover their own guilt'

operating a complete overtime ban against the continued sacking of 3 of their members.

The action comes at a time when the police complaints commission has upheld charges that the police from half a dozen forces acted violently in our villages. It admits that many people were assaulted, that some were assaulted before and after arrest.

Considering that one of our sacked men, Adrian Simpson, was sacked for activities on the day in question, and that he had maintained throughout that it was he who was attacked by police and not the other way round, the case for his reinstatement is now that much more powerful.

The other two lads were both sacked in situations where police

evidence conflicted with our men's version of events. This commission report shows to those who did not already know that the police lie, riot and beat up pickets, then arrest them to cover their own guilt. All sacked men should be reinstated at once.

The same mass branch meeting tabled a resolution to council calling for regular demonstrations and pickets of Gunners Wharf on the Trent where South African coal is pouring in daily. The action, to be taken jointly with the rail unions and TGWU is in solidarity with the South African NUM and not part of the social chauvinist cry for import controls.

David Douglass
Hatfield Main Branch
NUM delegate

NGA joins phoney talks

In the last week of August all five print unions—NGA, SOGAT, EETPU, AEU and NUJ—entered into renewed talks with Rupert Murdoch's News International.

The NGA's participation in these latest talks is a direct abandonment of its own pledge, on 11 August, that it would not enter any talks timed to coincide with the TUC conference starting on 1 September. The NGA has an amendment before the conference which, if carried, would force the TUC to begin disciplinary proceedings against the EETPU. Such a move would undoubtedly split the TUC. The amendment has been ruled out of order by the TUC General Purposes Committee. The stage was set, therefore, for a crucial battle at the conference.

The opening of these talks provides all parties with a convenient excuse for doing nothing at the conference on the grounds that talks are in progress. Murdoch has announced that any agreement arising from these talks will be subject to agreement by the workforce at Wapping and Kinning Park. The scabs will have a veto.

The High Court ruling on 31 July has provided SOGAT with the excuse to try and destroy the demonstrations outside the Wapping plant. Justice Stuart-Smith ruled that only 6 pickets were allowed outside the plant; that the pickets could not seek to induce Wapping employees to stop working; that the demonstra-

tions could continue provided they were 'peaceful', did not cause an obstruction and were confined to Well-close Square—an area directly in front of the plant.

SOGAT responded to the ruling by issuing instructions on 8 August. These forbid any SOGAT participation in any demonstration not organised by the SOGAT NEC; any person found on a demonstration who is not directly involved in the dispute must be told to leave the demonstration; no SOGAT member must be involved in any obstruction of the highway. Members are threatened with disciplinary action for breaching these instructions. Brenda Dean has fiercely resisted taking disciplinary action against SOGAT members who are scabbing on the dispute. She has no hesitation, however, in threatening people fighting for their jobs and basic trade union rights.

On Saturday 23 August the promised 'official' SOGAT march was cancelled—because of possible 'legal ramifications'. Fortunately, the actual strikers are ignoring these instructions. But the demonstrations are getting smaller week by week.

Terry O'Halloran
(London Freelance Branch
NUJ)

The NUJ NEC has finally been forced to initiate disciplinary proceedings against five of the NUJ scabs at Wapping. FRFI supporter Terry O'Halloran will be conducting the case against four of them.

Fighting sectarianism

On 21 August DHSS workers walked out of Lisburn social security office in protest against loyalist threats to Catholic staff. The strike spread to 14 offices and even included workers at Stormont, headquarters of the Northern Ireland Office. About 2,000 workers were involved. This was a political strike in defence of Catholic workers threatened by loyalist sectarianism. Such a development involving both Protestant and Catholic workers is to be welcomed.

The British government and the media have tried to portray this action as a protest against both Republican and loyalist 'death threats'. This is a lie. The Lisburn strike was a direct response to a campaign by the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) to drive Catholic people out of Lisburn. Recently more than a hundred Catholic families have asked to be rehoused following a series of firebomb attacks by loyalists on their homes. The IRA have neither threatened nor taken any action against DHSS workers. The British government lied for two reasons. The first was to cover up the extent of the growing loyalist terror campaign against the nationalist population. The second was to equate IRA military actions against British imperialism with loyalist attacks on individual Catholics. British imperialism, as always, seeks to justify its military occupation of the Six Counties of Ireland by presenting itself as a 'peacekeeper' standing between the 'hostile factions'.

Unfortunately there are those on the British left who follow British imperialism in equating the IRA's war against British rule with loyalist sectarian terror aimed at preserving loyalist ascendancy. So the *Morning Star* can claim that:

'The elitist gun groups, both Republican and Loyalist, have upped the odds recently by issuing death threats to ordinary working people, as a cover-up for the bankruptcy of their strategies.'

This is a deliberate lie. The IRA have not threatened 'ordinary working people'. They have threatened the security forces and those who collaborate with them. In this they act no differently from the fighting Black people in the townships of South Africa.



Greek airforce loads rockets onto British supplied Spitfires in 1947

Greek army and government from the drags of Greek society.

Rigged elections, boycotted by the left, were held in June 1945. The fascists won. Even the foreign minister and vice-premier of the British-installed government described the elections as 'a comedy' and resigned.

By August, thousands of resistance fighters were illegally imprisoned and a full-scale war was being waged against EAM/ELAS. The US and Britain supplied planes, napalm, money and training. Loyal as usual, a British trade union delegation reported on 'atrocities' committed by the 'rebels', legitimising the hunting down of resistance fighters.

British soldiers were told that they were liberating Greece. Reality was different. A staff officer wrote: 'We are forcing on Greece the government we want' and described British actions as 'the installation of a Fascist regime'. Another British soldier said: 'the Greeks knew we were there to bring back the King... and to keep the "Red" partisans from taking over... I'm not proud of my

This *Morning Star* lie leads them to the conclusion that:

'Rejection of the armed struggle elitists would bring nearer the possibility of a united working people pressing imperialism for their democratic and national rights' (23 August 1986)

The fact is, if the nationalist community 'rejected' the IRA they would be left completely defenceless in the face of loyalist terror gangs. As Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin president, recently said, the loyalist paramilitaries have:

'conducted a protracted murder campaign against ordinary Catholics from the days of the Civil Rights struggle and before.'

The fact is that it is impossible to unite the working class in the Six Counties outside of the struggle to drive British imperialism out of Ireland.

Socialist Worker also use the DHSS strike as an excuse to attack the Republican Movement. They share the same illusion as the *Morning Star* that the working class in the Six Counties can be united before partition is ended and British imperialism defeated. Indeed, they argue that:

'Working class unity can sweep away poverty and the dole, repression and Tory rule and above all partition.' (30 August 1986)

Unfortunately in the real world the working class is divided on sectarian lines. That division has a material basis and is rooted in partition. Systematic privilege for loyalist workers binds them to support British rule in Ireland. Loyalist action is aimed at maintaining this privilege. Republican action is aimed at destroying privilege and its necessary sectarian expression. Real working class unity can only be created by a determined struggle against all forms of privilege and inequality. In Ireland that means defeating British imperialism, the source and guarantor of loyalist privilege.

The DHSS strike is a welcome development as an action against sectarian attacks on Catholic workers. It must neither be exaggerated nor used as a stick with which to beat the Republican Movement.

Gerald Cameron

The decision of the Greater Manchester Police Authority to reinstate John Stalker does not mark the end of this affair. Many questions remain unanswered. Stalker himself has said that he is 'very suspicious' about his removal from the inquiry into the RUC's shoot-to-kill operations. Home Secretary Douglas Hurd has been forced by the publicity surrounding 'Stalkergate' to announce that he is conducting his own investigation, which as well as looking into the conduct of the disciplinary inquiry will also investigate the accusations of MI5 involvement. Hurd's aim will be to put the covers back onto the sensitive areas exposed by the Stalker affair.

The whole episode has focused unusual attention on RUC/MI5 methods and on the inner workings of the British police. As the affair raged on sections of the press were openly saying that MI5 and the RUC had conspired to remove Stalker from the inquiry. That his suspension, coming one day before he was due to return to the Six Counties to pursue his questioning of RUC Chief Constable Hermon, was too much of a coincidence. Before long all manner of dirt was being dug up. It was revealed that when the RUC shot and killed Michael Tighe in November 1982, MI5 was taping the event. The tape was obviously crucial to proving that Tighe was cold-bloodedly murdered by the RUC. Hermon refused to give it to Stalker. Then this tape mysteriously disappeared. Hermon was shown to be refusing all cooperation with Stalker. Indeed on one occasion when Stalker turned up for an arranged appointment with Hermon, the latter had gone out to watch a parade! As such revelations came thick and fast it was clear that Stalker had simply got too close to the truth for comfort.

Stalker reinstated

The cover-up continues

Amidst such speculation, Yorkshire Chief Constable Colin Sampson's report into the allegations against Stalker was eagerly awaited. The report with its recommendation that Stalker face an 'independent tribunal on 10 charges' turned out to be pathetically thin on evidence about Stalker's alleged misbehaviour. Perhaps Sampson hoped that ten charges would sound a serious number and convince people that with so much smoke there must be some fire. But no less than eight of the charges related to trivial matters

Manchester in 1984. Strange that he did nothing about it until... 1986. Indeed Anderton and other senior police officers evidently went to some lengths to conceal their investigations into Taylor from Stalker.

Despite these facts, it would be misleading to single out Anderton's role, as sections of the media have done. Whilst Anderton has played a devious game, concentration on his role obscures the essential Irish connection in the Stalker affair. Equally, concentration on the fact that Stalker has been reinstated as

In a draft final report written just before Stalker's removal from the inquiry there are sharp criticisms of the RUC and the role of its Chief Constable, Sir John Hermon. These are in addition to Stalker's other findings about shoot-to-kill operations and his recommendation that several RUC officers should face prosecution. If all these findings are now buried, the government, RUC and MI5 will, despite suffering some embarrassment, have achieved their main object.

Maxine Williams

Greece: the Hidden War

The sensitivity of the British establishment to the truth, has rarely been more acutely exposed than in the controversy raging over the Channel 4 series *Greece: the Hidden War* screened in January this year.

The series told the truth about British intervention in Greece as World War Two was coming to an end. Based on testimony from previously-exiled Greek socialists, the films challenged the British lie of having saved Greece for 'democracy'. The truth is that the British army intervened on the side of the fascists and former Nazi collaborators from October 1944 onwards. Both the wartime National government and post-war Labour government relentlessly set about crushing the left-wing national resistance movement (EAM/ELAS).

By September 1944 the Nazis were all but defeated. EAM/ELAS had liberated most of the countryside and over threequarters of Athens. EAM had set up schools, factories and theatres where none existed before. Wireless and telephone communications were established in remote mountain regions and roads were repaired. EAM had 2 million members out of a population of 7 million.

The British army was deployed against EAM/ELAS before the end of the German occupation. In one case British soldiers were told that should a Nazi commander wish to surrender, they were 'to instruct him to continue to hold all positions as before, retaining all arms and keeping control of their (the Germans) district to prevent a takeover by ELAS forces (the Greeks).'

The month-long battle of Athens in December 1944 was decisive. Collaborators, monarchists and fascists were formed into a British-controlled police force. Their first action was to slaughter 28 EAM demonstrators protesting against plans to bring back the King. Within a month, 5,000 ELAS members were dead. The Union Jack flew over the Acropolis. Britain then formed a

with nuclear waste. The government has now fallen back on reducing discharges to being as 'as low as reasonably achievable' - and we all know what that means. The Central Electricity Generating Board too has now announced that it intends to start pumping nuclear waste from its ageing Magnox power stations - it intends to start at Dungeness on the Kent coast.

With the news that four of the newest British reactors at Hartlepool and Heysham (two of them not yet on stream) are functioning at 20% below safety margins, due to design faults, the likelihood of a Chernobyl style accident happening in Britain seems higher than ever. The accident at Chernobyl, it now transpires, happened because of 'human error'. Whatever the cause, Chernobyl and the appalling safety record of nuclear power in Britain and the US show that there is no such thing as 'safe' nuclear power.

Olivia Adamson

Career of a supergrass

What happens to the Six Counties 'supergrasses' after they have performed their service for Britain? Usually they disappear without trace. But in the case of Joseph Bennett (alias John Joseph Graham) we see the calibre of the men on whose word the Six Counties convict dozens of people.

Bennett was a loyalist paid perjurer whose testimony led to the con-

viction of 14 other loyalists. They were subsequently freed on appeal. Bennett, given a new identity (as Graham) and with a house and income provided by the RUC, was moved to Derby. There, evidently not satisfied with his 'wages', he took to robbery. He and his associates robbed the same bookie twice and then planned an armed bank raid which they later called off. In July this year Bennett received a ten year sentence for these offences.

Maxine Williams



Protests oppose nuclear dumps

For the last two weeks in August, protestors in Lincolnshire, Humberside and Bedfordshire have prevented drilling at prospective sites for nuclear waste dumps. Contracts worth £9½ million have been handed out by the Nuclear Industrial Radioactive Waste Executive (Nirex). So far contractors have been stopped from entering the sites by demonstrators who declare that they are prepared to go to prison if necessary, and who are planning occupations and other measures.

Over half the commercial waste dumps in the US have been closed down due to contamination spreading outside the sites. Waste can find its way into rivers and reservoirs. With the British government's appallingly slack environmental controls on business, there is every reason to suppose that leaks would be even more likely to happen in Britain than in the US.

Meanwhile the government cursorily rejected the House of Commons environment select committee's report which states that there is no 'overall strategic, technical and economic case for continuing the reprocessing of spent fuel from power stations.' The report recommends dry storage at power stations which would at least avoid the problems of transporting nuclear waste through built-up areas, as well as being cheaper and safer overall. However, the government is determined to keep Sellafield open, firstly for the £2.5 bn of contracts it claims to have with 9 other countries to re-

process their waste, and secondly for military purposes.

Hence Sellafield continues to pump its deadly discharges into the Irish Sea. The government has cynically gone back on its pledge to fall in line with European guidelines drawn up by the Paris Commission, which calls for the 'best technology' to deal

The Commonwealth mini-summit on 3-4 August laid bare the divisions which have split the Commonwealth apart on the question of sanctions against South Africa. Margaret Thatcher was exposed as the most consistent supporter of the apartheid regime and the most determined defender of British super-profits. The summit ended with six countries – Australia, the Bahamas, Zimbabwe, Zambia, India and Canada – agreeing to introduce 'substantial economic measures' against South Africa. The determination of the black Commonwealth nations to take action exposed Thatcher's intransigence. But Britain's side-stepping will seriously weaken the effect of sanctions and Zimbabwe and Zambia, in particular, will bear the brunt of South Africa's wrath.

Preparing the way

The decisions made at the Heads of State Commonwealth summit in October 1985 were vital for preparing the way for the August mini-summit in London. In October Thatcher was able to block all action pending the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) report. Both Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and Neil Kinnock were instrumental in securing this major concession to Thatcher. Months later the EPG report confirmed what we all knew already: 'there is no present prospect of a process of dialogue leading to a non-racial and representative government'. All that the EPG's activities had achieved was to allow the apartheid regime more time to smash anti-apartheid organisation.

Thatcher's second bid for time was made at the EEC meeting in June. This time Geoffrey Howe was despatched to Southern Africa on a fruitless mission to find 'facts' which would suit Thatcher's standpoint. Black leaders treated Howe with the contempt he deserved.

From the time of the publication of the EPG report, the illusion was fostered by the Labour Party and the AAM in Britain that Thatcher was now cornered and would be forced to implement sanctions. Such illusions were dangerous, for even while Howe was pursuing his abortive mission, Thatcher was publishing a series of interviews in the press which proclaimed that sanctions were 'immoral' and 'repugnant' and that she had no intention of honouring any Commonwealth agreements.

The Commonwealth Games

Black Commonwealth nations had no such illusions about Thatcher's 'honourable' intentions. In the run-up to the August mini-summit, black Commonwealth nations organised a mass boycott of the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh. They had no intention of playing games with apartheid or its major ally. 32 countries withdrew.

But what should have been a major opportunity in Britain to support the boycott only exposed the rotten core of self-interest in Britain. Leading figures in the AAM scabbed on the boycott (see separate report). With calculated ambivalence, Kinnock managed to associate himself with the boycott and at the same time attend the Games.

Rifts in the ruling class

The AAM's scabbing on the Games boycott was all the more damaging because it came at a time when rifts were beginning to develop within the ruling class over Thatcher's handling of the sanctions issue. The Queen was anxious that her Commonwealth might be split. The Church of England called for 'effective economic sanctions'. Heath and Pym abstained on the Labour Party's Commons motion for 'effective economic measures'.

In a significant shift the British Industry Committee on South Africa, which includes 50 of the largest companies operating there, said: 'If a gesture or sign has to be made, and because of Commonwealth pressure this is probably necessary, then we urge Mrs Thatcher to ban new investment'.

When Howe returned empty-handed, days before the mini-summit, the threat of sanctions wiped 5% off the share prices of Barclays and Standard Chartered Banks in one day's trading.

But the Labour leadership in the Commons, once again protected Thatcher from the consequences. Five Labour and six Conservative MPs sat on the Foreign Affairs committee whose unanimous report warned against comprehensive mandatory sanctions which would involve the UK:

Commonwealth summit Britain's shame

'in conniving at the escalation of the present limited conflict into a full scale civil war which could almost certainly precipitate the bloodbath which sanctions are designed to avert.'

By the time the Commonwealth leaders met in August, Thatcher had been given the signal that, whatever party political advantage it may gain from her difficulties, Labour was not ready to 'go for broke' on the issue of sanctions. No forces were mobilised in Britain to match

the storm of protest overseas.

The Summit

After hearing the EPG's and Howe's reports, the summit quickly established that Britain stood alone in opposition to effective sanctions. The six agreed to 'substantial economic measures against South Africa' as a 'moral and political imperative to which a response can no longer be deferred.' The six agreed to ban:

- air links with South Africa
- new investment or reinvestment of profits
- import of agricultural products
- double taxation agreements
- government assistance to investment and trade links
- government contracts with majority-owned South African companies
- the promotion of tourism
- all new bank loans
- the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa



POPPERFOTO

Readers of FRFI will already know that on 12 July *The Scotsman* newspaper printed a letter from Scotland's self-proclaimed Eminent Persons, calling on 'those nations contemplating withdrawing from the Commonwealth Games to reconsider their position'. Instead of supporting the boycott – the only action being taken to pressurise Thatcher to introduce sanctions – these Eminent Persons were trying to call it off. Prominent amongst the signatories to the letter were Bob Hughes MP, chair of the AAM, and Brian Filling, secretary of the Scottish AAM.

The Scottish AAM are now busily covering their tracks having been criticised by many AAM supporters in Scotland. They have produced their own lavish report which, according to them, explains their actions. John McKinnon, vice-chair of the committee explained at its most recent meeting: the anti-boycott call, initiated by the Scottish TUC (STUC), was the only 'initiative' taking place; the Scottish Committee had to be 'in there' arguing for sanctions; the Scottish AAM committee therefore decided 'to get its hands dirty'. They certainly did.

At the time that the Eminent Persons' letter appeared, only two countries, Nigeria and Ghana, had joined the boycott. This, they argue, was good reason to take an 'early initiative' to discourage other countries from following suit on the grounds that 'Scotland had not elected the Thatcher government and that the people of Scotland were against apartheid...'. One wonders which government they did elect? Their unilateral declaration of independence appears to have gone unnoticed. What their report is anxious to obfuscate is that while they were appealing for an end to the boycott, two South African athletes were still due to take part in the games under the English flag of convenience.

In case anyone at this point should smell a rat, the report includes a waiver:

'The STUC/Radical Scotland initiative (the Eminent's Letter – ed) was originally taken within 24 hours of the first two countries deciding to boycott and at that point there were legitimate and

Up the garden path with the Scottish AAM

genuine differences among supporters of sanctions against South Africa about how to respond'.

By 15 July any honest, or even wise, group would have admitted they were wrong, as country after country joined the boycott. Not so the Scottish Committee. On 15 July they wrote a letter appealing for a meeting, to Secretary of State for Scotland, Malcolm Rifkind. In it they reveal the key to their otherwise bizarre behaviour:

'It seems likely to us that the British government will have to indicate some change of position at the Commonwealth Heads summit at the beginning of August, and so we feel that if that change of position was indicated now, the Games would not be jeopardised and the countries currently boycotting would again participate.'

The Scottish committee clearly believed, unlike the rest of the world, that it was just a matter of timing: Mrs Thatcher was going to climb down, so why not do it now so as not to spoil the Games (and the revenue). This was not naivety it was a gross political error and derives from the view held by both the Labour Party and the CPGB that British imperialism can play a progressive role under pressure. It is this political position which underlies all their activities.

By 23 July the STUC was writing letters

to the press to explain what was really behind its 'alternative strategy' for the Games, in case anyone had misunderstood it. Now we enter real cloud-cuckoo land. Apparently:

'The alternative strategy which was proposed was this: that by coming to the Games en bloc (following Scotland's efforts to declare itself "friendly territory" on the sanctions issue), the Commonwealth countries could make a political gesture of solidarity against Mrs Thatcher's position, thereby further isolating her even within the UK.'

Apparently the Commonwealth countries were to express their disgust not by a boycott, but by taking part in the Games! The fact that neither the STUC, Edinburgh Council nor the Scottish AAM Committee had any control over declaring the Games 'friendly territory' given that the Games were controlled by millionaire Maxwell and funded by handouts from multinationals, is beside the point. They could not even control whether Mrs Thatcher was invited to visit the Games. Unaware that Scotland had declared UDI, Mrs Thatcher inevitably did visit the Games – a point apparently rammed home by Neil Kinnock himself when, as Pretender to the Throne, he broke the boycott to attend the closing ceremony:

'Speaking of the rowdy reception given to Mrs Thatcher, he (Kinnock) said it would have been very unusual for a Prime Minister not to go to the Games when they were held in Britain.' (*Glasgow Herald* 2.8.86)

Kinnock at least has the merit of not being any under any illusions about who controls Scottish territory and who its Prime Minister is.

At the end of the day, no matter how much the Scottish committee wants to disguise its actions by what can only be described as 'fudging', it cannot obscure its rotten core. They scabbed on the boycott. It's about time Bob Hughes and Brian Filling really explained their actions. Of course they have the honourable alternative – resignation. Carol Brickley

By contrast Britain's shoddy deal read:

'The British government while taking a different view on the likely impact of economic sanctions, declares that it will:

- put a voluntary ban on new investment in South Africa
- put a voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism
- accept and implement any EEC decision to ban the import of coal, iron, and steel and of gold coins from South Africa.'

The careful insertion of 'voluntary' allows the British an infinite variety of delays. The Commonwealth leaders left London in disgust. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia summed it up:

'Thatcher is committed to British vested interests in South Africa. That's what makes it worse; she is committed to defending those interests at the expense of her fellow human beings.'

In sharp contrast to the 250,000 music lovers who gathered at Clapham Common for the AAM festival in June, the AAM vigil outside the summit attracted only a few hundred. This was entirely the AAM's own fault for failing to make a stand on the Commonwealth Games and the boycott. FRFI and City AA supporters attended the picket.

The consequences

Full implementation of the measures agreed at the summit would curtail a maximum of 2-3% of South Africa's £2bn annual trade. The Commonwealth countries are rightly eager to pressurise apartheid's main trading partners to follow suit and so have a proportionately greater effect. African countries are considering a ban on all over-flights to South Africa which would damage British Airways £1m weekly revenue from this source. The South African Tourist Board has no intention of reducing its £500,000 annual expenditure in Britain, although a few operators have stopped taking bookings for holidays in South Africa.

These concerns are marginal when compared to the sacrifices that Zambia and Zimbabwe may be called upon to make. Apartheid's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, challenged the two countries to 'put their money where their mouths are and institute sanctions'. The source of Botha's belligerence lies in both countries' dependence on South Africa for trade passage.

Nearly 70% of Zambia's imports and 40% of its exports, and approximately 85% of all Zimbabwe's trade, have to pass through South Africa. Botha announced that Zambian goods would be subject to a cash deposit levy and that Zimbabwe's trade had to now come under strict licensing restrictions. Apartheid officials brought all trade through Beit Bridge – the main road route to South Africa – to a halt as they unpacked loads for 'statistical purposes'.

Zimbabwe and Zambia are in danger of the same brutal combination of economic and military war that Pretoria has directed, with imperialist support, against Angola and Mozambique. They can expect no support from Britain. Baroness Young warned them before the summit that if they continued to press for general sanctions 'they should not expect financial assistance from Britain when Botha retaliates'.

Certain that Britain is firmly on the side of the South African regime, the non-aligned countries are meeting this week in Zimbabwe to discuss their own response. Largely ignored by the British media, they will discuss self-defence, economic support and a possible pan-African defence force.

The Commonwealth Summit was no victory for Thatcher. But it was not a victory for anti-apartheid forces either. Once again black countries in Southern Africa, already stunted economically by imperialism, are bearing the burden of fighting the apartheid monster. Their people will wholeheartedly make sacrifices in order to free their brothers and sisters in South Africa. In stark contrast, the microscopic sacrifice that Scotland was asked to make during the Commonwealth Games was too much for the Labour Party and AAM to bear.

Andy Goddard and Carol Brickley

100 days and nights Racist police attack picket

On 28 July, City AA published a report: *100 days and nights – a record of police harassment*, which:

'establishes a pattern of police behaviour which is intended to criminalise and intimidate anti-apartheid protestors. This is not the first time that the police at Cannon Row have attempted to deny the right to demonstrate peacefully. They have repeatedly stated over the past four years that they believe that there is no "right" to demonstrate: that it is a privilege which they are entitled to deny us. We believe that police officers at Cannon Row are engaged in a conspiracy to deny the right to protest against apartheid. We are determined to expose that conspiracy.'

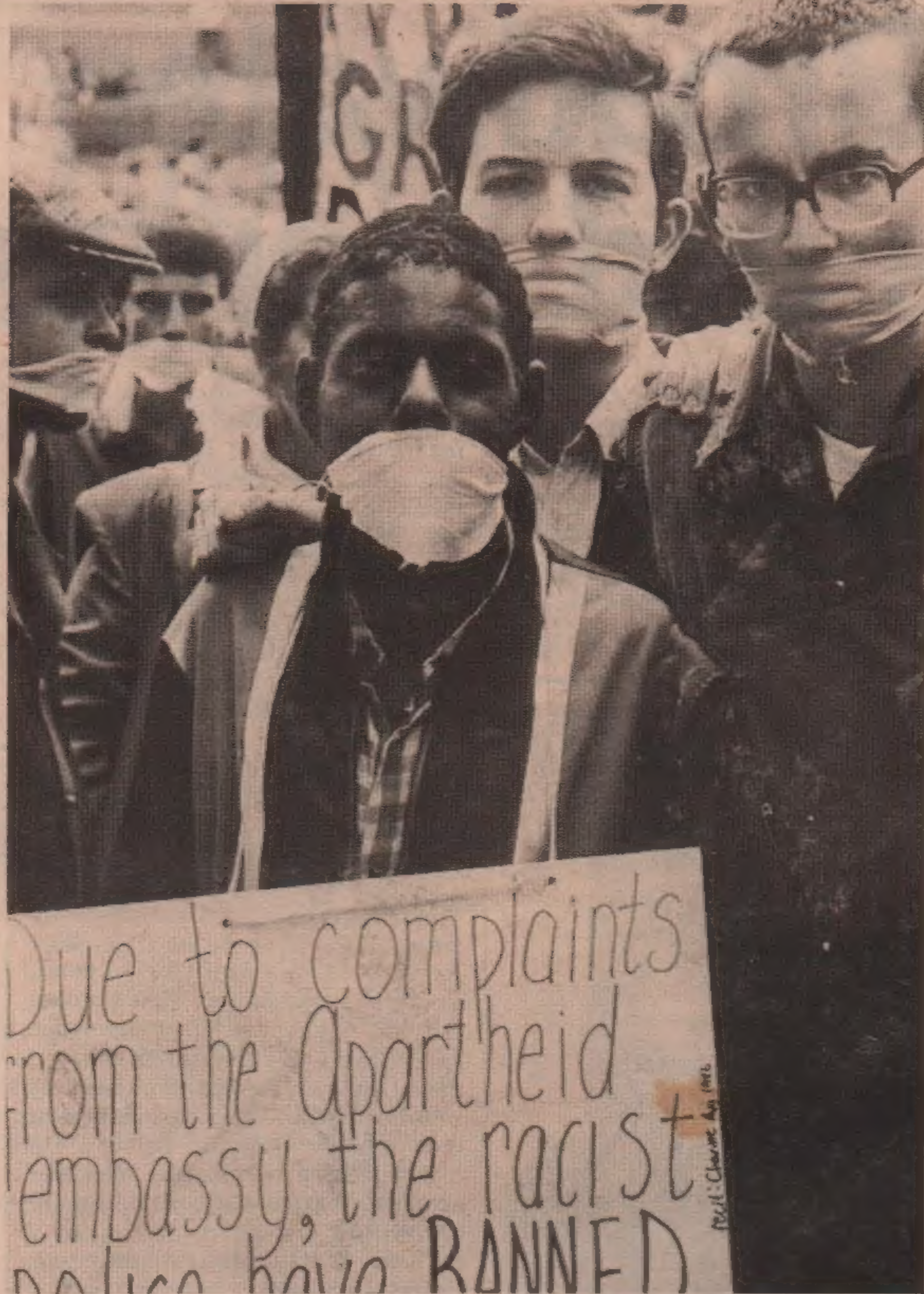
The evidence against the police is substantial, including violent and arbitrary arrests, anti-gay, racist and sexual abuse. City AA believes that the police at Cannon Row have been engaged in a 'trawling' operation, looking for laws and regulations, however obscure, to restrict the picketers and hopefully remove the pickets altogether. Since the picket began on 19 April police have been arresting and harassing demonstrators on cooked-up charges.

Illegal street collections: City AA has been petitioning outside the Embassy for four years. Nevertheless, since 19 April numerous demonstrators have been accused of illegal street collection. Two court cases against Richard Roques and Ruby Noorani have already been dismissed by magistrates and costs awarded against the police. Nevertheless the police have refused to drop all the charges and a test case against Carol Brickley will be heard on 29 September (see Trial Dates). Three weeks ago, Andrew Barry, a research assistant for Dr Jeremy Bray MP passed the picket on his way to work and was threatened with arrest for trying to give a donation to the picket. Jeremy Bray has complained to the Home Secretary and the Commissioner of Police, Kenneth Newman.

Noise pollution the police are now threatening the picket under three separate sets of regulations. A case against two picketers will be held on 10

September for alleged breach of the Control of Pollution Act. This Act forbids use of a megaphone between 9pm and 8am. Another picketer has been charged with an offence under the Metropolitan Police Act (1839) alleging that she used 'a noisy instrument to call people together' because she used the megaphone to ask passers by to join the picket! The latest police scheme, plotted jointly with the Embassy, was the attempt to silence the picket during Embassy opening hours under the Westminster byelaws (see separate report). This is the first time that the Embassy has agreed to appear in court against anti-apartheid protestors.

Violent arrests One example: on 13 June the police violently attacked black people on the picket. As a result 11 people were arrested and will be tried on 1-4 December on various charges. Five people were hurt in the police attack. Kayode Olafimihan received multiple bruising and cuts to the eyes and face. Tinuke, his sister had to be taken to hospital when she suffered a bronchial spasm as a result of being throttled. Mervyn Martin was repeatedly scratched on his arms in the police van. Susannah Hall received scratches, bruises and weals on her shoulders and chest. These demonstrators are considering civil action against the police. Additionally a black South African, Linda Mjebe, was racially abused by police who called him a 'stinking wog'.



Break the Silence

On Monday 18 August 100 people gathered on the non-stop picket outside South Africa House to break the silence the police threatened to impose on behalf on the racist Embassy. In a co-ordinated attack on the picket, the police and Embassy threatened to take the picketers to court under Westminster City bye-laws if they sang songs or used the megaphone during Embassy opening hours.

At a meeting at Cannon Row Police Station on 12 August, attended by Richard Balfe MEP, solicitor Louise Christian and City AA convenor Carol Brickley, Chief Inspector Frankton outlined the latest scheme to silence the picket. It was due to begin on the following Monday when police would begin to take names and addresses of picketers in order to provide evidence for the Embassy's court case.

From 9am on 18 August picketers wore gags as symbols that, once again, the police and Embassy were manoeuvring to silence opposition to apartheid. At 12 noon the gags were removed as the picket sang 'Happy Birthday' to Norma Kitson and 'Mandela says fight for freedom'. Jo Richardson MP, Sharon Atkin, David and Norma Kitson, David Reed FRFI, Peter Tatchell, Lynn Reid Banks, author and journalist for the *Sunday Telegraph* and Jenny Edwards prospective parliamentary candidate for North Westminster together with a delegation from North Westminster Labour Party, all came to break the silence by making speeches through the megaphone.

In typical cowardly fashion, the police immediately backed down. Inspector Perry, lying through his teeth, told journalists that he had 'no idea where the story came from'. For Mr Perry's information, the 'idea' came from his superiors at Cannon Row Police Station in collusion with the racist Embassy. Along with many of their other 'ideas' for defeating the picket, this one was quickly shelved when it became too embarrassing to act as the Embassy's private police force in front of MPs, local councillors and the press.

isations and 18% are trade unionists. 69% of affiliated detainees are from the United Democratic Front.

The detainees are fighting back. In Victor Verster Prison near Paarl, the security forces had to use teargas to put down a rebellion by detainees protesting against torture, and in Modderbee prison, near Johannesburg, all 601 detainees have gone on hungerstrike to demand their release, improvements in their conditions and the end of the State of Emergency. The regime received an unexpected set back on Monday 11 August when it was forced to release about 30 of the detainees after a UDF court action which won a judgement declaring detentions under the State of Emergency illegal. Within days, though, the regime obtained a conflicting judgement which has enabled them to prevent further releases being ordered.

Botha's strategy has suffered more setbacks in the schools which he has been trying to bring under control. 300,000 students have refused to register to return, most of the rest only registered to keep their schools open and then burnt the 'pass style' identity cards on bonfires. Schools have been turned into prison camps occupied by police and troops, who do not hesitate to shoot the unarmed children and youth. On Monday 25 August, again in Soweto, one student was killed and many injured when the police opened fire on a protesting crowd of 500 children.

Despite vicious repression, all kinds

of action against apartheid has continued:

- * Demonstrations in the townships are a daily occurrence, though many are fired on by the security forces including one in Kwazakele township where three protestors were killed.

- * Black trade unions have fought to prevent the sacking of detainees and are continuing to organise strikes, including one against forced removals in the Eastern Cape.

- * Rent strikes in the 38 townships have now cost the councils hundreds of millions of rand in revenue and attempts to break them have signally failed.

- * The daily death toll still includes many black collaborators, dealt with by 'people's justice', as well as those resisting the military and police thugs of the regime.

- * The ANC has stepped up its armed struggle with a series of AK47 and hand-grenade attacks on police stations.

One of the greatest victories for anti-apartheid forces in the last month has been in the homeland of Kwanabele. Kwanabele was dominated politically by one of Botha's most vicious black stooges, its Home Affairs Minister Piet Ntuli. Ntuli's Mbhokoto vigilantes were employed to grind down all opposition to Ntuli and his plans to accept 'independence' for Kwanabele. Their techniques included forcing political opponents to walk barefoot over hot coals and flogging them naked until they flounder in their own blood. Their tactics have only succeeded in strengthening the 'comrades' of Kwanabele

Anti-gay and sexual abuse City AA regards these incidents as both sinister and malicious. Over two months, June and July, women, gay and lesbian people on the picket were subject to vicious abuse from a small group of named police officers. These officers chose to act mainly at night, insulting women as 'slags' and 'whores', gay people as 'poofs' and 'wankers'. They drove around in a police car, repeatedly kerb-crawling the picket, hurling abuse and threatening arrest.

The harassment of picketers still continues as shown by the events of 18 August. In particular police are targeting individual picketers who spend many hours stewarding the picket. Lorna Reid has been repeatedly arrested on trivial and concocted charges. Magistrates have now imposed bail conditions which prevent Lorna from going within a mile of Trafalgar Square. In this way the police hope to keep committed activists out of action.

City AA has begun to break through the press censorship. Convenor Carol Brickley was interviewed on LBC and BBC Radio London in the week following the publication of the report. Following Commander Marnoch of A Division's refusal to see City AA's representatives – despite an arranged appointment – City AA put the report in the hands of Scotland Yard's Complaints Bureau. It remains to be seen what steps they will take to end Cannon Row's blatant collaboration with the apartheid Embassy.

Carol Brickley

TRIAL DATES

- Wednesday 10 September, Horseferry Rd, 10am, Maggie & Terry, 'noise pollution'.
- Tuesday 23 September, James, Bow Street, threatening behaviour.
- Wednesday 24 September, Wells St, 10am, Lorna, Theo, Nick.
- Monday 29 September, Bow St, Carol Brickley, test case for all the 'illegal street collection' charges.
- Wednesday 1 October, Wells St, Kenny 10am, assault police and breach of peace.
- Wednesday 1 October, Wells St, 2pm, Richard, highway obstruction.
- Thursday 2 October, Bow St 2pm, Lorna & Hugh.
- Thursday 2 October, Bow Street, Norma, assault police.
- Thursday 2 and Friday 3 October, 10am Horseferry Road, Nicki, Jane, Sally, Liz, Annie, Cat.
- Thursday 9 October, Richard, 10am, Wells Street, highway obstruction.
- Tuesday 14 October, Danny, 10am, Wells Street, threatening words.
- Wednesday 15 October, Bow St, 2pm, Lorna.

and at least 160 people have died in the civil unrest. Property owned by Ntuli and his cronies was burnt to the ground and the final victory came on 29 July when Ntuli was blown to pieces by a timebomb planted in his car. In the wake of Ntuli's death, the Mbhokoto have been disbanded and plans for 'independence' scrapped.

The bestiality of the black stooges is copied directly from their white masters. The testimony of a black Catholic priest, Father Mkhathshwa, still in detention, who took court action for his release and successfully won an order to stop his torture, was that he was made to stand upright and naked for at least 30 hours. He was handcuffed and blindfolded and his genitals and buttocks deliberately exposed and subjected to torture by an unidentified 'creature or instrument' while his captors laughed and abused him. Shots were fired over his head to terrorise him.

Children as young as 12 have been tortured, and are starved for periods of 16 hours or over. One 12 year old boy who has been detained four times this year was tortured by electric shock treatment to his hands, genitals and feet. He is one of four thousand children in detention.

The people of Soweto and other townships in South Africa are proving, in their resistance to the State of Emergency, that they will not tolerate a return to the 'normality' of daily exploitation and slow death under apartheid.

Dave Hunter and Maggie Mellon

Reagan under pressure

The long debate over sanctions in the US government has resulted in defeat for Reagan's anti-sanctions stance in both the Democrat-controlled Congress and Republican Senate.

Reagan has proved to be less successful than Thatcher in playing for time for apartheid mainly because of the much greater pressure exerted on Senators and Congressmen by the US protest movement.

In July Reagan made a mistake by not recognising that he could not get away with Thatcher's Iron Maiden tactics in the face of the electoral threat to Congressmen and Senate presented by the high public awareness on the issue. He made a speech to Congress on 22 July intended to stem the demand for sanctions but this speech was so full of excuses, racism and blatant support for apartheid that it impelled Congress to vote on 6 August for full economic and political sanctions against South Africa. He praised Thatcher, attacking the 'emotional clamour for sanctions' and pointed to the critical strategic advantages of South Africa both militarily and in mineral wealth. The Senate Bill, is a response to the challenge from Congress, and is much milder. It only seeks to ban new investment, and to restrict loans in the private sector leaving the way open for direct loan support to the regime itself. However these measures along with wide bans on imports of South Africa's main mineral and manufacturing exports, would represent a blow to Botha.

Simone

Soweto explodes

continued from page 1

to carry on their struggle at new and higher levels.

Earlier in August, at a special federal conference of his ruling National Party, President PW Botha bragged, once again, of his determination never to abandon the filthy racism of apartheid: only weeks after Thatcher tried to tell us that Botha could be persuaded to reform away apartheid he declared 'as long as I remain leader of this country I will remain true to the principle of land ownership and property rights as we arrange them for every community'. In other words, the whites of South Africa and the Thatchers of the international community could rely on him to keep black people in subjection and so maintain the standard of living of the racist investors.

Information published since the collapse of press censorship shows exactly what that has meant in practice for the people. In just over two months, under Botha's State of Emergency, 10-15,000 people have been detained in an attempt to destroy anti-apartheid organisations. Over 250 people have been killed. Thousands of families still have no idea what has happened to relations who were dragged out in the middle of the night, or who have simply disappeared. One group estimates that 74% of detainees are from political, community and education-based organ-

Broadwater Farm, attacks and repression continue

Still full of hatred and thirsting for revenge for the uprising of 6 October the police have continued their attack on the community. In the last month there have been two more arrests on charges arising out of the uprising. In Homsey, 30 police arrested a man and woman in a violent show of strength. The woman was later released. Earlier in August another man was arrested in Tottenham. An arresting officer in these cases is currently being sued for torture (cigarette burns) during interrogation.

PAUL MATTSSON/FRAME



Fascists out of Islington

On 27 July, Islington Anti-Fascist Action organised a successful march led by Jeremy Corbyn MP to 35 Avenell Road, London N5 owned by John Hansen. The house is connected with well-known fascists such as Nicki Crane imprisoned in 1981 for leading attacks on black people, and recently it was used as a meeting place for international fascists especially from Italy. A hostel housing Bangladeshi families has suffered most from violent

attacks and all children now have to be escorted to and from school. These people are homeless and staying at the hostel because they are victims of imperialism. FRFI is affiliated to AFA and local FRFI sellers supported the event. We say close down this house and drive the fascists out of Islington. Racists out of Britain! Smash the National Front! Annie and Paul

Meanwhile, the courts have shown whose side they are on by ensuring that the trials of the 161 Tottenham defendants are convenient to the prosecution. Over 60 defendants, whose trials start at the Old Bailey on 15 September will be tried individually. The six on murder charges will not be tried until January 1987 and the 13 affray charges will not be heard until July. As the Defence Campaign has stated, this is a legal ploy to isolate the defendants and exhaust support from the community.

The police have not reduced their efforts to intimidate and humiliate Broadwater Farm residents. On 12 August, 30 police rushed onto the deck of Tangmere (the block of flats where the Youth Association is situated) on the pretext that they could smell cannabis! In front of exchange visitors to the Youth Association from Jamaica, they knocked Stafford Scott of the Youth Association to the ground. His shirt was ripped open and he was hit on the head with a truncheon by the current home beat officer, Sergeant Palmer. His wound needed two stitches. A police helicopter buzzed overhead during the operation which was carried out by Y Division (Tottenham) and N Division (Islington) police.

Earlier that day, six police cars screeched to a halt on the estate and an officer leapt out, accusing an 11 year old of making obscene gestures at him. He knocked him to the ground, badly injuring his knees. The terrified child had in fact been waving to a friend, but his protests were ignored and he was forced to take shelter in the play centre. DC Bickerstaff of Tottenham has since said that this was a 'regrettable incident' and that the police would pay any medical fees the child incurs. Official complaints have also been submitted concerning the disgusting attack by the police on 12 August.

Blocks of flats on the estate are built on pillars. These have been painted different colours in order to facilitate 'troop movements'. While the Broad-

water Farm Youth Association and Defence Campaign were on the 20 July anti-racist march organised by Haringey Council, police moved onto the estate. They practised various manoeuvres with horses and other equipment at length.

The behind the scenes wheeling and dealing of Newman's police continues apace. The Asian-owned supermarket on the estate was burnt down during the uprising. The police and media consistently used this incident to try to create a false impression of 'black/Asian' hostility on the estate by implying that it was ransacked by black people. This cynical exercise in dividing the community failed, and to cap it all the police have admitted liability for the damage to the supermarket by paying compensation of

£63,000 to the supermarket's owners in an out of court settlement.

In his Public Order Review (Civil Disturbances 1981-1985) Kenneth Newman states that 'The Force is not responsible for the difficult social conditions in these areas...' We say, and the above incidents show, that the 'Force' are a large part of the 'difficult social conditions', and we must fight to defend our rights and the rights of the Broadwater Farm defendants. Come to the mass lunchtime picket of the Old Bailey at 12.30 on 15 September called by the Defence Campaign. Show whose side you are on by joining in the resistance to this vicious assault on our rights.

Susan Davidson/Ken Hughes

Kamran Mashadi must stay



I came to Britain from Iran as a student in 1980. My money was stopped from Iran because of my opposition to Khomeini's regime. As a result, I applied for political asylum in this country in 1984. Now, after two years, the Home Office has rejected my application for political asylum, and are trying to send me back to Iran, knowing that students opposing the Islamic

Republic of Khomeini who are sent back to Iran are arrested, tortured and eventually executed by this belligerent regime.

The inhuman regime of Khomeini has executed over 50,000 people and imprisoned another 140,000 who are brutally tortured. According to Amnesty International, during the last 3 years 80% of executions of all left wing activists in the whole world have taken place in Iran.

As an FRFI supporter, I ask for support for my defence campaign which has been set up in Manchester. Attend my campaign meetings, fortnightly on Tuesdays at 7pm at Longsight Law Centre, 584 Stockport Road. (The next meetings are on 9 and 23 September). We will be holding a public meeting in late September.

All readers can help by:

- Writing a letter to my MP, Stan Orme MP, House of Commons, London SW1
- Writing to the Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1 supporting my fight to stay
- Contacting the campaign for leaflets, petitions and further information at KMDC, 584 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester M13 (tel: 061 225 5111).

Kamran Mashadi

Anti-Fascist Action Appeal

AFA has launched an appeal for an advertisement to go into *The Guardian* to be sponsored by members of the public and organisations. The advert expresses concern about the growing wave of racial violence and attacks aimed at black people across the country and appeals for people and organisations to join AFA, a broad-based non-sectarian organisation and to unite against racism and fascism. It asks for support for the next two major AFA mobilisations, the 50th Anniversary of Cable Street and a national march on Remembrance Sunday, 9 November 12 noon from Trafalgar Square. Both events aim to draw out the parallels between the anti-semitic violence under fascism and racism against black people today. For copies of the appeal write to FRFI or direct to AFA, PO Box 273, London E7 9JN (Tel: 01-555 8151). Uta Meyer

Release Derek Jeffers

On 24 August, Leeds FRFI joined a picket of Armley gaol calling for the release of Derek Jeffers. The picket was the second organised by the John Grant and Derek Jeffers Defence Campaign. Derek has been held since March this year, framed on charges of assaulting a policeman (see FRFI 61). Chanting and slogans were kept up throughout, and visitors to the gaol joined us when they came out. The message to the police and warders was clear: Chapeltown people will no longer allow frame-ups and long remands to continue unopposed.

FRFI pledges support to the campaign and sends solidarity greetings to Derek Jeffers. Chas Millington

Defend the Oldham 9

On 19 July an anti-fascist rally was called in Oldham against a proposed National Front demonstration. The NF march was banned but the fascists still mobilised. The Front had previously stated their intention to attack black areas in the town and recently attacks on mainly Asian families have risen by 50%. Prominent local NF members are on bail pending charges for these attacks.

Shortly after the rally had started, the anti-fascists heard that fascists were nearby attacking people. Anti-fascists including a number from Bradford who went off by minibus to investigate were attacked by about 15 fascists. When they tried to defend themselves the police promptly arrested everyone on the bus. Over 50 fascists were left roaming around for over 2 hours after the event whilst the anti-fascists were held for 15 hours and charged with malicious wounding, intent to maliciously wound, actual bodily harm etc - charges which could carry a life sentence.

Many of the 9 defendants have a long history of fighting racism: they include a national secretary of Anti-Fascist Action, a former Chair of Bradford Asian Youth Movement, one of the Bradford 12 of 1982 and other activists.

The defendants scored their first victory when on 20 August, all the previous

charges were dropped due to lack of police evidence and replaced with less serious charges of breach of the peace and one of reckless driving! Obviously, the police hope to be able to secure convictions on these charges - our response must be to raise our demands even louder. For the Oldham 9 it is essential that there is a mass picket at every court appearance: the first picket is on 25 November at 9.45am outside Oldham Magistrates Court.

The Defence Campaign calls for support groups to be set up around the country and asks groups and individuals to affiliate: £25 organisations, £5 waged individuals, £1 unwaged. For speakers and info contact: Oldham 9 Defence Campaign, c/o The Saathi Centre, 2 Hallfield Road, Bradford BD1 4PS. Tel (0274) 732896, or contact Press Secretary Dave Stark on (0274) 487447. Uta and Mark

Rapist on the beat

A policeman accused of horrific sexual assaults on two black women is now a 'community' policeman and has been given immunity from disciplinary action despite the offer of damages to one of his victims.

In 1983, the officer entered the home of a Turkish woman late at night claiming to check on her immigration status. Her status was legal. Despite this, the officer threatened to have the woman's husband deported unless she submitted to degrading sexual acts.

In January 1985, the same officer entered the home of a Nigerian student, Adebola Makenjuola, again claiming to check on her immigration status, which was also legal. The officer threatened to have her deported unless she forged a letter from her brother, stating that he was 'sponsoring' her stay in Britain. He then forced Ms Makenjuola and her boyfriend to submit to an illegal strip-search, after which he ordered Ms Makenjuola's boyfriend to have sexual intercourse with her. Naturally, he refused. Then, with Ms Makenjuola crying and pleading, the police officer anally raped her.

The Department of Public Prosecutions (DPP) claims to have 'insufficient evidence' to prosecute the officer. The police say they have 'investigated' the matter internally and are bringing no charges against the officer, despite their offer of damages to Ms Makenjuola. Under the double jeopardy rule, the

police officer now has immunity from disciplinary action.

Ms Makenjuola has refused the police offer of damages and is pressing for a civil action against the police. The latter have closed ranks to protect their rapist and have refused to hand vital documents on the case, including forensic evidence and notes on the file sent to the DPP to Ms Makenjuola's lawyer, Martyn Day. Ms Makenjuola, meanwhile, has been charged with forgery (of the letter she was forced to write) and recommended for deportation.

Britain's racist, sexist immigration laws give thugs in the police force an excuse to assault, harass and intimidate women like Adebola Makenjuola. Ms Makenjuola has made a courageous stand in exposing the racist brutality of the British state and its foul immigration laws. One wonders how many more women, living under these immigration laws, have been similarly treated. While racist rapists are sanctioned and paid to remain in the police force continuing their dirty work, their victims are treated as criminals.

Charine James

PEOPLE AND POLITICS

Like a lot of book reviews, this one ought to start with an account of my visit to see Norma Kitson in the premises of her typesetting company in North London. I ought to remark on her ability to juggle with six things at once: cooking a meal, answering the phone, typesetting a book, smoking a cigarette, shouting at the dog as well as answering my questions. I should then go on to tell you about the book written by this remarkable woman whose husband, David Kitson, was imprisoned for 20 years in South Africa in 1964 for his part in the struggle against apartheid.

All that would be true. But I can't write this review like that because Norma Kitson and I have been close friends for eight years, and what is more important, we are comrades who, together, have been engaged in an extraordinary political campaign which has broken with the normal methods of British left activity.

For me, Norma Kitson is not a one-dimensional superwoman who fits the special mould that journalists have created for women who break the rules, so that the reader can be amazed but then disregard them. She will never conform to a comfortable definition. She will never fit into a mould. I remember once, at the height of frustration, appealing for peace and quiet. 'What do you want peace and quiet for?' she asked sharply. 'You'll have plenty of that when you're dead'.

I did go to visit Norma to discuss her first book *Where Sixpence Lives*. I say first because anyone who knows Norma will know that she is unlikely to stop at one. We talked long and hard about our experiences together. The book is a description of her life—but every episode is defined by the struggle for freedom in South Africa. The book does not end with David Kitson's release from gaol in 1984, because for people completely committed as communists to a political struggle like David and Norma, the story has no fairy tale ending—the fight goes on. 'None of my family has ever given up for longer than a week', she said. 'We'll participate in the struggle till victory.'

I read Norma's book in one sitting. It is absorbing, dramatic, full of charm and humour. Many of the episodes I knew already, they were told to us as we sat round the lunch table at Red Lion Setters where we worked together. Norma has a genius for bringing history and experience to life—just like her father, I find from reading the book. For some of the more recent events in the book, my comrades in the RCG and I are part of the story. We can recall the horror of Steven Kitson's detention by South African police in January 1982 and the elation at his release after a short successful campaign. I remember going to bed that night, content, thinking that at last I would get some sleep after a week of non-stop activity, only to be woken an hour later by a phone call from David Reed. In a shocked quiet voice he told me that Joan, Norma's sister in South Africa who had been in constant touch during Steven's detention, and only hours ago had seen Steven onto the plane to London, had been found dead, murdered in her flat. Joan had been David Kitson's constant visitor in jail. I still remember Joan's excited voice on the phone from Johannesburg when she told us the news that Steven was free, just hours before her death. Sitting with Norma during the night following the news, I realised for the first time how much she had been made to suffer, and was still suffering because of her commitment to fighting apartheid. Her book tells it all, but neither her book nor her life are about suffering. They are about fighting back.

The Free Steven Kitson Campaign had been a turning point for us. When we called the first meeting, I remember being amazed at the people who turned up at Red Lion Setters offices: as well as friends, students and political groups,

NORMA KITSON

Where Sixpence Lives

'Like George Orwell and Nadine Gordimer, she is an answering witness—in her case, to the civil apartheid and its political fall-out wherever she finds it. *Where Sixpence Lives* is the story of her life—and a book to live by.'

Craig Raine



Liberation Fighter

Norma Kitson's first book, an autobiography *Where Sixpence Lives*, is published in September. It is a record of political struggle by a woman who has committed her life to the struggle against apartheid.

MPs, executive members of TASS, and then Ken Gill walked in with an entourage. He couldn't stay long, he said, but he made sure that we knew his views. Pressure on the Foreign Office, was the measure necessary to free Steve. He looked down his nose at picketing the embassy. By the end of the week and several pickets of the embassy later, Steven was released. Ken Gill's cohorts were at the final meeting, vehemently arguing that the campaign should wind up and under pressure assuring us that, of course, we could work with the TASS campaign to free David Kitson, Steven's father. This proved to be an empty promise.

Over the years at Red Lion Setters, Norma and I and some of the other workers gave considerable support to the ANC and other liberation movements, by offering our time, talents and the resources of Red Lion Setters to produce leaflets, posters, books, t-shirts etc and to give technical training. For many months the ANC News Briefings were produced on our machines. We typeset material for the South African Communist Party including, the history of the Party, *South African Communists Speak*. Brian Bunting and Yusif Dadoo, then Chair of the SACP, came to thank

more than twenty years in Britain.

I put this to Norma. Her reply was characteristic:

'I always thought that the liberation struggle would have great effect on the movement in Britain. We started singing liberation songs in African languages to fire people's imaginations. But we underestimated how much effect this would have. I knew that if people knew about Nelson Mandela it would have a great influence. The South African struggle is inspiring. It is showing the way for people in Britain. This goes against the grain of what British people are taught. If you go to a trade union meeting in Britain, there's a form and content and a previous history of how things are done. That's not very attractive to young people... the format of these meetings isn't geared to finding out what people want to do. Democracy in City Group enables people to feel that they have a valuable contribution to make.'

From its outset City Group adopted a democratic constitution: everyone against apartheid had a right to speak at our pickets, to sell their literature and we would defend our members if they were arrested. The non-stop picket put this democracy into practice. In Octo-

she successfully campaigned for David Kitson and in the process highlighted the position of Mandela and Sisulu and won hundreds of people to support the aims of the movement. Her book sets the record straight—if indeed a woman who has herself been detained and tortured by the apartheid regime (including being hung upside down out of a window), seen her son and husband detained and tortured, had her family life torn apart by a vicious prison sentence, and seen her sister murdered (all of which is related in her book) needs to set the record straight. I asked her what she thought about the smear campaign:

'People in South Africa want solidarity in full measure. They want sanctions. They want people active on the streets, picketing the embassy. They want people in trade unions, colleges, schools, wherever, to be informed and active, making a choice on the side of liberation. If there had been a strong anti-apartheid movement in Britain, Botha would never have been able to visit this country... Excluding people, excluding ideas, is a way of dealing, keeping the "wrong people" out of the movement, a way of maintaining control. Along with it goes the methods of smear, gossip and rumour—a total tac-



tic. Now the bodies and individuals who employ these methods are coming unstuck. Groups like City Group can go forward.'

The history of City Group since the non-stop picket of 1982 is well known to FRFI readers. What is less well known and certainly less well understood is the role that Norma Kitson has played in its growth and character. What comes over in the book is a woman who surrounds herself with people—all the time interacting, talking politics, making friends, often disconcerting and challenging, often aggressive, always open and responsive. Norma surrounds herself with political people of all shades of left opinion, not because she agrees with all of them, but because she is a political being. She has very strong political views of her own:

'I think that the Labour Party will founder on the same issues it always has. During the Commonwealth Games Bob Hughes lowered the sanctions stakes for the sake of Scotland. Kinnock's Labour Party is wedded to its investments in South Africa. If it doesn't have a socialist programme for Britain, how can it have a pro-liberation policy on South Africa. The two are interlinked. A capitalist Britain has to invest where the profits are highest and bugger the consequences for the oppressed and exploited. What other answer have they got for Britain's economy? There's a lot of good sincere people in the Labour Party but they have to take a long hard look at what their party is doing.'

Over the years each member of the Kitson family has been 'accused' of being a member of the RCG. None of them are, or ever have been, but we are comrades despite our, often vociferous, disagreements. It is a sign of the sectarianism of the socialist movement that it cannot tolerate those who talk to, discuss with and are even friends with anyone outside their own circumscribed ideological circle. Both David and Norma have been 'accused' of Trotskyism. Neither regard it as an insult, merely incorrect: *'I feel it's part of a game played in Britain. David and I have been called Trotskyists, now we are being called Stalinists. I'm a comrade. I don't play games with whomever I don't like. I am. In Britain there are many people fighting apartheid. I don't mind if the communists, who are involved are Trotskyists, Stalinists, Maoists or whatever, as long as they are prepared to join in the solidarity struggle. But in the South African context it's important to me that I'm a Marxist Leninist.'*

So why did she write her book now? *'I want my book to show young people in Britain that they do have a choice. That it's not silly to stand on the streets and sing and chant. It's not silly to take action. The 86 day picket had a direct effect. The non-stop picket now is having an effect. If you do nothing you achieve nothing... I couldn't have done otherwise than give that message, whether it was a book, or my own involvement in City Group and in the struggle in South Africa. I have contact with a lot of people in South Africa, they applaud the non-stop picket outside the Embassy. The interesting fact is, and in a way it's a bitter thing for me, that in South Africa they are led to think that the picket is organised by the AAM.'*

Perhaps the saddest part of the Kitson story is that following David's release in 1984, both David and Norma were suspended from the ANC in London. Both refused to discuss the matter in public, stating that it was an internal matter for the ANC. But the events have taken a new twist. David Kitson's union, TASS, of which he has been a member for 39 years, announced earlier this year that they would discontinue funding for David's job at Ruskin College because of his suspension from the ANC. TASS is led by the same Ken Gill, CPGB member, who pledged to fight for David's release, who pledged the union to funding David's job for life, who in 1982 came to advise us on how to 'campaign' for Steven Kitson's release. The Kitsons have been deprived of participation in the ANC in London and now, at Ken Gill's behest and under the cover of the ANC, David is to be deprived of his livelihood.

Norma felt that the attacks could not continue unanswered. It was a hard choice. While the Kitsons refused to speak out, representatives of the London ANC made the issue public at meetings up and down Britain. With typical openness, Norma deals with the issues in her book: on his release David Kitson refused publicly to condemn City AA (he is the only one of the Kitson family not a member) and both Norma and David stood as candidates for the AAM National Committee at the AGM in 1984. This was at the height of the AAM leadership's campaign against City Group.

I asked Norma how she felt after all her experiences, to be suspended from the movement which is the foundation stone of her political life: her reply held no surprises:

'I am very sad to be in dispute with any arm of our movement. But it is an arm. I am not alienated or isolated from the movement at home. It's pretty uncomfortable in London, I kid you not. But if you're a political activist anywhere you don't expect a smooth path. We have people at the top of our movement encouraging us, that's a tremendous boost. London's a hard place for anybody called Kitson at the moment, but it's just part of the struggle you know, comrade.'

Carol Brickley

Where Sixpence Lives by Norma Kitson is published in September by Chatto and Windus. Price £9.95 hardback.

'None of my family has ever given up for more than a week. We'll participate in the struggle till victory.'

us, and inscribed Norma's copy of the book, thanking her for her invaluable help. We received many letters of sincere thanks from the ANC for our work. It was with a feeling of optimism about what could be done that, together, we formed City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and changed the face of anti-apartheid activity in London.

In the later part of her book, Norma relates the story of the non-stop picket of the South African Embassy which she started in August 1982 and which lasted 86 days and nights until David Kitson and his fellow political prisoners in Pretoria's Death Row prison were moved to a new prison. It was City Group's first real test at organising—and as always we jumped in at the deep end with enthusiasm—and it worked. What Norma says in her book is true, an enormous range of individuals, young and old, black and white, came to support the picket. People lived there, formed relationships, found lasting friends. It became a way of life.

But there were important factors which made the picket extraordinary. We quickly found that people were eager to learn about apartheid and the struggles of black people in South Africa. It seems strange from the perspective of 1986 when Nelson Mandela is a household name, to remember that most people didn't know about apartheid or the black leaders of the liberation movement, even though there had been an Anti-Apartheid Movement for

ber a magnificent rally was held where the platform represented almost every shade of political opinion on the left in Britain: Stanley Clinton Davies (now EEC commissioner) from the right of the Labour Party to Vanessa Redgrave from the Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party. Alongside stood other Labour MPs including Bob Hughes, chair of the AAM and now arch critic of City Group, Roy Hattersley MP, trade union leaders, the CPGB and of course the picketers. The meeting was chaired by David Reed of the RCG. The picket had united them, perhaps for a few hours only, in a common struggle against apartheid. For the British left, immured in its separate political compartments, where political debate between differing groups is considered, to say the least, dangerous, this was a historic occasion.

It was on the non-stop picket that the seeds of the dispute with the AAM leadership were sown. In Britain you cannot lead a successful campaign to force the apartheid regime to budge a little and get support from hundreds of young people without causing minor tremors in the AAM leadership which they fear will shake them off their pedestals. Norma Kitson and the RCG were held responsible for the impending earthquake. Over the years we have to a certain extent grown used to the gossip, rumour, distortion and downright abuse. Yet even now it seems the most grotesque form of sour grapes that they should accuse Norma of racism because

The long march enters London

On 26 July the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign long march from Manchester to London ended with a 300-strong rally in Conway Hall. The previous day 200 marchers and supporters picketed the racist Home Office. Such is the Home Office's contempt for ordinary people, especially if they are black, that no one would see Viraj Mendis or accept his letter to David Waddington.

The range of speakers at the final rally was fitting tribute to the united and non-sectarian character of the VMDC march: Eelam Solidarity Campaign; Alf Home, Manchester City Councillor; Kings Cross Women's Centre; Manda Kunda; Shahid Syed; Kamran Mashadi; Marion Chummin; David Reed, Revolutionary Communist Group; Carol Brickley, City AA; John Owen, Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press; Anti-Fascist Action; Glyn Ford MEP; Manchester Anarchists; and marchers.

Shahid Syed was one of four speakers who had personally come under attack from the racist immigration laws. In his campaign, he said, he had to fight for support from his trade union. He said that demonstrations, pickets and public campaigning were the 'only language this racist Home Office understands'. He called the VMDC march a milestone in anti-deportation campaigning.

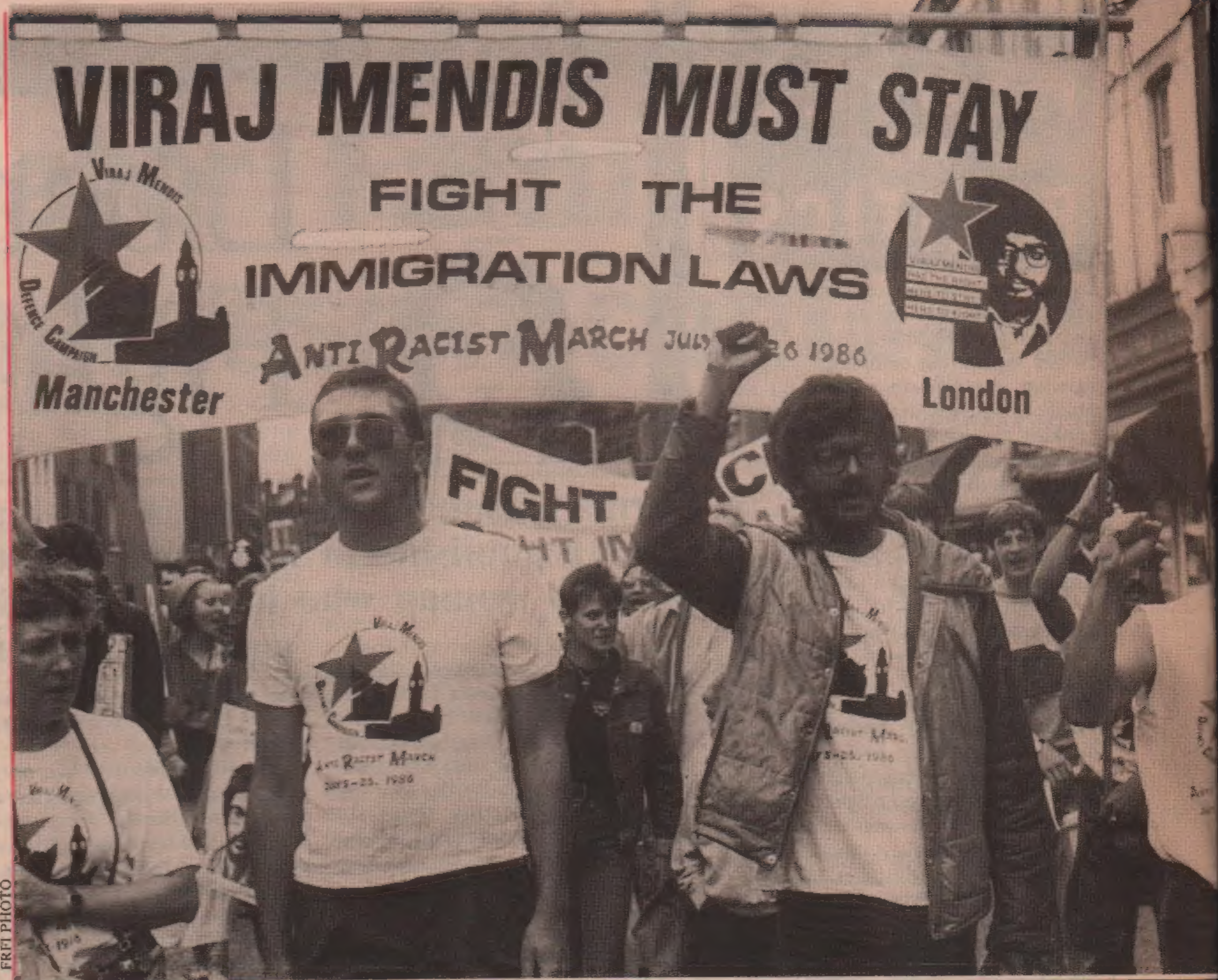
Manda Kunda told how she had been

directly inspired to form her own defence campaign by the example of the VMDC. Marion Chummin described the harassment she and her sister faced from the Home Office and police in the form of numerous 'visits' and interrogations. Kamran Mashadi, an FRFI supporter facing deportation to Khomeini's Iran, gave a dramatic account of what faces him if returned to Iran: hundreds of Iranian oppositionists had been returned and then killed.

The keynote speech was given by David Reed on behalf of the RCG, Viraj's organisation. The RCG has played the central role in building the VMDC and the long march.

Carol Brickley, for City AA, drew the links between the racist British immigration controls and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. 'Britain', she said, 'is losing its reputation as a tolerant democracy, and about time too. It should never have had that reputation, because whatever tolerance, whatever democracy it has extended to British people - and that has been very little - has been given at the expense of black people in every corner of the globe for centuries.'

Viraj himself was given a loud and sustained standing ovation. The message of the rally was clear: together we can defeat the racist British Home Office. Karen/Viraj



HERE TO STAY! HERE TO FIGHT



Viraj Mendis communist fighter

David Reed's keynote speech to the 300-strong Conway Hall rally which marked the end of the march

Comrades and friends, racism and imperialism have divided the working class. They have destroyed its unity and they have weakened our movement from within. Racism and imperialism have strengthened our enemies. So unless the fight against racism and imperialism is made central to our political programme, no progress will be made in the struggle for socialism in this country.

At a vital international meeting of the working class movement, the 1907 Congress of the Second International in Stuttgart, for the first time, the issues of racism and imperialism emerged as issues that were to divide and crucially weaken the international working class movement. The first dispute was on the question of colonial policy, or what today is called imperialism. There was a motion put up which said the following:

'...the Congress does not, in principle and for all times, reject all colonial policy, which, under a socialist regime, may have a civilising effect.'

Lenin was at that conference and he commented on it. He said such a policy would justify colonial wars and atrocities. It represented a defence of plunder and exploitation. It was the standpoint of privileged layers of the working class. One of its supporters, the opportunist Eduard Bernstein, at that time the leader of the German socialist party, said in its defence

'A great part of our economic system is based on the exploitation of resources from the colonies, which the natives would not know what to do with.'

So we see that racism has a material basis; it is grounded in economics. It expresses the interests of not only the ruling class but also a section of the working class in the imperialist nations: that section which benefits from the plunder of the resources of the oppressed nations.

Not surprisingly, the other major dispute at the Congress was over the question of emigration and immigration. Having destroyed and plundered the oppressed nations, destroyed their economies so the people of those nations are forced to emigrate to survive, the same people who support colonial policy,

who defend imperialism, want to limit immigration. And again they do it to defend their own privilege.

At the Congress in 1907, some sections of the international working class movement argued that mass immigration would lower the living standards of the working class and even undermine trade union organisation. The labour movement racists who held to this position argued that immigrants would be cheap labour and their human needs were less.

Lenin reported that the Congress rejected everything that smacked of this spirit. The racists and the opportunists at that Congress were, in fact, defeated. But the movement was divided. On colonial policy the principled revolutionary position only held by 128 votes to 107. The

'...unless the fight against racism and imperialism is made central...no progress will be made in the struggle for socialism.'

British delegation, it is worth stating, divided: 14 being in favour of so-called 'socialist' colonial policy and 6 were against. Ramsay MacDonald, then leader of the Independent Labour Party, and later to be leader of the British Labour Party, led the British racists who were in favour of colonial policy. Ramsay MacDonald later was to scab on every single struggle of the British working class movement in the following years.

This split in the international working class movement was finally consolidated when the main parties of the Second International, including all the significant sections of the British labour movement, supported the First Imperialist World War. That is, they led the working class to slaughter and terrible death in support of their own capitalist ruling class. The revolutionary trend in the working class movement was to carry through its consistent opposition to all colonial policy, its support for the right of nations to self-determination and its opposition to racist immigration con-

trols, to an opposition to imperialist war itself. And that trend founded the Third (Communist) International in 1919.

Why have I gone through all this? It is because Viraj Mendis belongs to the revolutionary trend in the working class. And that is why he is threatened with deportation. Viraj Mendis supports the right of the Tamil people to self-determination. That is why he's threatened with deportation. Viraj Mendis supports the right of the Irish people to self-determination. That is why he's threatened with deportation. Viraj Mendis wants to see an end to British collaboration with apartheid. That is why he's threatened with deportation. Viraj Mendis is opposed to all immigration controls. That is why he's threatened with deportation. Viraj Mendis unequivocally stands on the side of the oppressed people in their struggle against racism and imperialism. Viraj Mendis, in short, is a communist. That is why he's threatened with deportation. (Applause.)

It's a question, comrades and friends, of taking sides, making a choice. The Home Office is on one side. It justifies its choice by saying, 'Viraj Mendis has now been resident in this country for 12 years, which was certainly a long time, but his residence has been of poor quality!' Viraj Mendis is black. He has therefore been unemployed for a long time, because this country, its government, its institutions, its police, its laws and its courts, are racist. (Applause.) The Home Office has contempt for black people. It has contempt for the poor. It has contempt for the unemployed. So Viraj Mendis' residence has been of poor quality.

The judgement from the Home Office lackeys recognises that Viraj Mendis has 'done some useful social work for which he is held in high regard by the local community.' But it goes on '...this does not render him a man of outstanding talent and dedication, rendering services of outstanding value to a particular section of the community of which they would be deprived if he were to be deported.' You see, Viraj Mendis has taken the side of the oppressed, the side of black people threatened with deportation. His local community is of little consequence to the Home Office.

FRFI PHOTO



The RCG played a central role in building the V

For the racist Home Office, this is not of great worth. In reality, it shows us that Viraj Mendis is in fact exceptional. Viraj Mendis is in fact a man of outstanding talent and dedication. For not only has he taken the side of the oppressed, but in fighting for the rights of the oppressed, he is prepared to put himself in jeopardy - in the final analysis, to risk his own life.

'Viraj Mendis belongs to the revolutionary trend in the working class. And that is why he is threatened with deportation.'

Viraj Mendis stands in a great tradition of dedicated communists, people fighting on the side of humanity. He has made his choice. You, all of us, must make ours. Which side are you on? With the Home Office, those dedicated defenders of wealth and privilege of the small ruthless capitalist minority in this country, or are you with Viraj Mendis, a fighter on the side of his class?

The other evening, Paul Boateng made his choice. He took the side of Viraj. He guaranteed that one month after a Labour government is elected, Viraj Mendis will be invited to the

The refugee trail

The discovery of 155 Tamil refugees drifting off the coast of Canada, on 11 August, exposed the trail of corruption and misery that follows Tamil refugees.

The Tamils were fleeing increasing oppression of refugees in West Germany where there are some 18,000 Tamil refugees. Since a supreme administrative court decision in West Berlin last December, very few of them will be granted political asylum. The court ruled that a state of civil war in Sri Lanka did not constitute political persecution. This allows the West German government to evade Article 16 of the Constitution which grants automatic refugee status to any person validly claiming political asylum. The ruling was confirmed in August when a Bavarian court ruled that Tamil refugees have no right to political asylum.

These rulings mean that the Tamils in West Germany have to apply through the courts for refugee status. This can take up to six years and is almost certain to be unsuccessful. In the meantime the Tamils must live only in the area assigned to them - they can be fined for leaving their area even if only for a visit. They cannot obtain either residence or work permits. They are forced to live on social security payments deliberately set as low as possible. Many of the refugee centres

are shabby and enormously overcrowded. There is rising anti-refugee feeling in West Germany. *The Guardian* reports residents of one town, where 335 refugees are packed into a tent city, saying that the refugees were sub-human and should be 'gassed'.

Hence, the refugee trail to Canada. The 155 Tamils paid an estimated £1,400 each to be transported below decks for two weeks, without access to toilets, with only boiled rice (often rotten) to eat, and Coca Cola or lemonade on sale at £14 a can. All 155 Tamils have been immediately granted one year residence and work permits whilst their status is decided. At the moment, it looks as though they will be granted permanent residence rights.

The behaviour of the Canadian government contrasts sharply with that of the British government. Tamil refugees in Britain are being denied any right to stay on the grounds that they are 'economic' refugees. At present there are 15 Tamils locked up in detention, 1 for more than six months, 2 for more than three months. Conditions in the immigration detention centres are now so bad

that even the immigration officers, not noted for their concern for the rights of immigrants, are threatening strike action. Last month it was reported that detainees were being forced to sleep on the floor of Heathrow Terminal 3. Sinhalese FRFI supporter, Viraj Mendis, is threatened with deportation to Sri Lanka to face the terror of the racist Jayewardene regime.

The treatment of Sri Lankan political refugees by the British government reflects the accelerating level of deportations and removals in racist Britain. Since 1979 the number of people, mainly black, deported or removed per year has risen from 1,377 to 1,665 (1985) - a rise of 21%. If the rate of deportations and removals for the first quarter of this year is maintained, 1986 will see the highest number of expulsions since immigration controls began.

As the number of black people expelled rises, the number of immigrants allowed to settle in Britain continues to decline: from 68,900 (1974) to 55,360 (1985) - a fall of 20%. The drop for Commonwealth immigrants is even sharper: from 42,500 (1974) to 24,800 (1985) - a fall of 42%. The figures are clear. Immigration controls are an instrument of racist oppression.

Little wonder that Viraj Mendis

should be such a target of Home Office vengeance. As a committed and vocal opponent of the reactionary Sri Lankan regime and the anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka, he exposes both that regime and British, and West European, collaboration with the regime. As a black communist committed to destroying racist immigration controls, he not only exposes racist British imperialism for what it is, but also helps to build a strong and successful movement to defend black people threatened with deportation. For these reasons the Home Office is determined to force Viraj to join the trail of misery imposed on Sri Lankan refugees. We are also determined that Viraj Mendis will stay.

Terry O'Halloran



Young Tamil refugee in West Berlin



FRFI PHOTO

Jayewardene's reign of terror

'During 1985 Amnesty International received many well-documented reports from eye-witnesses and others stating, in sworn affidavits, that unarmed Tamil civilians were arbitrarily killed by security forces personnel...'

(Some Recent Reports of Extra-judicial Killings, Amnesty International, 30 April 1986)

'I must accept that Sri Lanka is inherently a democracy where the rule of law applies.'

(Immigration Appeals Chief Adjudicator, M Patey MBE, rejecting Viraj Mendis's appeal against deportation)

On 22 August the Sri Lankan Parliament renewed the emergency legislation, first passed in July 1983, for the 38th month running. In a gesture towards 'democracy' this repressive legislation must be renewed every month. On the same day Sri Lankan 'security forces' killed 16 Tamils - 10 in Trincomalee, 4 in North-Central Province and 2 in Jaffna. The latter two were killed when the Sri Lankan army shelled homes near Jaffna fort.

As so-called peace talks between the Jayewardene government and Tamil 'moderates' continue, Sri Lankan 'security forces' conduct large-scale troop movements towards the areas controlled by the Tamil liberation forces. The subsequent 'search and destroy' operations leave behind a trail of disappearances, killings, destroyed homes and detentions of 'Tamil extremists'. This is the reality of Sri Lanka today.

In May this year Tamil towns were bombed and strafed from the air. Countless Tamil civilians were killed. Schools, hospitals and temples were destroyed. Naval patrol boats started intense shelling, while helicopters machine-gunned the towns.

In the ten months to February 1986, human rights workers in Sri Lanka recorded 2,678 killings of civilians by

the 'security forces', 12,105 arrests and 547 'disappearances'. This terror is not confined to the Tamil north or to Tamil people.

Amnesty International has documented the arrests of over 100 Sinhalese progressives, opposed to the anti-Tamil terror, in December 1985. They were all arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act which allows the 'security forces' to hold them for up to 18 months without charge. They are accused of conspiring with Tamil 'extremists' to overthrow the Jayewardene regime. Amnesty International notes that no evidence whatever has been produced for these claims. The real crime of these Sinhalese is that, like Viraj Mendis, they

are opposed to state terror against the Tamils.

It is obvious what fate awaits Viraj Mendis if returned to Sri Lanka. The organised plot to deport Viraj Mendis is of a piece with British collaboration with the Jayewardene regime. Britain, and its allies, are providing financial, military and political support for Jayewardene's reign of terror.

Britain, along with Israel, supplies patrol boats and other military equipment. Italy provided the 6 Siai-Marchetti attack aircraft used in the May raids. South Africa has supplied more than 30 personnel carriers. The helicopters used for machine-gunning the towns are US Bell helicopters. At any one time, 2,000 Sri Lankan troops are being trained in Pakistan. The elite Special Task Force is trained jointly by ex-SAS mercenaries (paid between £2,000 and £3,000 per month) and Israeli 'advisers'. Britain is leading a united imperialist effort to sustain the reactionary, murderous Sri Lankan government.

President Jayewardene has recently declared that he will put the country on 'a war footing' (*The Guardian*, 7 August 1986) if his phoney peace talks 'break down'. This can only mean that the Sri Lankan 'security forces' will be given even greater licence to detain, torture, kill both Tamils and those few Sinhalese, like Viraj Mendis, with the courage to stand alongside the Tamils. It is this terror that awaits Viraj Mendis if he is forced to return to Sri Lanka.

Terry O'Halloran



Massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka, 1983

VMDC fights on

The end of the long march is not the end of the campaign. Viraj's MP, Bob Litherland, is likely to meet Waddington, to make his final representations, in early October. Waddington then has the power to stop the deportation or approve it. We know that only massive public pressure will secure Viraj's right to stay.

6 September sees the Day of Action to follow up the success of the long march: Manchester, city centre motorcade and social in the evening; London demonstration from Wood Green to Whittington Park; Leicester, street rally, public meeting and social in the evening; Glasgow, street rally. Details of these events can be got from either Manchester or London (see below).

On 14 October there will be a front page advertisement in *The Guardian*, consisting of a pledge demanding that Viraj be granted the right to stay and a list of all the individuals, organisations, MPs, councillors, TUs, anti-racist and anti-deportation campaigns which have signed it. The ad will cost about £2,000 and each signatory is asked to pay at least £10 towards the cost. So send in your £10 now and get your name, and your organisation's, in the ad.

The VMDC will be producing a pamphlet in the next month explaining the fight for Viraj's right to stay in Britain; exposing the fascist Jayewardene regime and British collaboration with it; exposing racist British immigration controls; and outlining the history of the VMDC, especially the historic long march. The pamphlet will be a must for all opponents of racist immigration controls.

Join in the support work. Everyone who supports Viraj's right to stay and wants to do something about it is welcome. VMDC meets every Sunday, Manchester Town Hall, at 7.30pm. The London Support Group meets every Thursday, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1, at 7.30pm. Join the fight now.

VMDC: North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Hulme, Manchester, M15 5AL. Telephone (24 hours a day) 061-234 3168.

London Support Group: c/o BM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX. Telephone (office hours) 01-837 1688.

HT!



VMDC

use of Commons to put his case and case against immigration controls. Other Labour MPs and candidates have to make the same choice, and they have to make it now. Neil Kinnock has been confronted with the same choice. He said he will abolish the British Nationality Act. He said he will repeal the 1971 Immigration Act. He can start now. He can take a stand on the side of Viraj Mendis. Make it public, break the censorship and help the campaign. The RCG is proud to have Viraj Mendis in our ranks. His victory will be a victory for us all, for fighting people everywhere. The campaign must go on. All of us have to make that choice, to take the side of Viraj Mendis, a principled fighter on the side of the oppressed. Viraj is a man of outstanding talent and dedication.

Viraj Mendis has the right! Here to stay, here to fight!

David Reed

Paul Boateng's pledge to organise a meeting at the House of Commons for Viraj Mendis to address, is being distributed by the VMDC to other Labour MPs and prospective candidates. Jeremy Corbyn and Bob Litherland have signed it. Copies of the pledge to send to your MP or prospective Parliamentary candidate, can be got from VMDC (see Manchester address).

Everywhere communists are watching, assessing and analysing the South African revolution. Its outcome will have a dramatic, perhaps decisive, impact on revolutionary developments worldwide. This fact alone would give enormous significance to the speech* made on 30 July 1986 by Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. That this speech was commemorating the 65th anniversary of the SACP and was given in London, the political centre of the imperialist power which is the main backer of the apartheid regime, would add to its significance for British communists.

Over 700 people filled every bit of available space in the large Conway Hall for this meeting. A speech from a leading communist in the SACP could be expected to give an incisive analysis of the latest developments in the South African revolution. Further, given the speech was being delivered in London, an urgent call to British communists to step up the struggle in Britain in solidarity with those fighting for liberation in South Africa was also to be expected. In fact there was neither. Rather we were offered a political standpoint which did

On 30 July 1986 the South African Communist Party celebrated its 65th anniversary at a rally in London's Conway Hall. Joe Slovo (pictured below) was the main speaker. David Reed analyses the issues raised in Slovo's speech: issues at the heart of the South African revolution.



liberation of the African people and with it the destruction of all forms of racial discrimination' (Slovo, *South Africa—No Middle Road*, 1976).

The view that South Africa is a colony of a *special type* cannot be sustained in a Marxist understanding of capitalism and imperialism**. However such a theory serves the purpose of breaking the necessary historical link between the development of capitalism in South Africa in the epoch of imperialism and the brutal oppression and exploitation of the black masses under the apartheid system. This can be seen in the following remarkable passage from Slovo's speech:

'In general, capitalist exploitation and race domination are not symbiotically linked. But the historically-evolved connection between capitalist exploitation and racist domination in South Africa creates a natural link between national liberation and social emancipation; a link which is virtually too late to unravel.'

But we are not dealing with capitalist exploitation 'in general'. We are dealing with capitalist exploitation under imperialism and have been since the turn of the century. And under imperialism capitalist exploitation and race domination are symbiotically linked. The link between national liberation and social emancipation is not 'natural', whatever that is supposed to mean, but social, rooted in the development of capitalism in South Africa in the epoch of imperialism. Whether Joe Slovo wants it to be or not that link *cannot be unravelled*.

This loose language is not accidental. What are we to make of 'a link which is virtually too late to unravel'. Is it too late or not? And why is the point being made? Do we want to unravel it? And if so, why? What is at stake is the precise relationship between national liberation and the socialist revolution in South Africa. And on this question, at this time, Joe Slovo simply refuses to be precise.

'We believe that the kind of victory to be aimed for in the coming struggles must provide a launching-pad for the creation of conditions which will make it possible to work for a socialist future.'

Before you have a chance to work out what this deliberately vague formula-

be taken after that alliance has attained political power. He does this to avoid confronting the problem of power—the fundamental problem of all revolutions. Nowhere in fact does Slovo tell us how power is to be transferred from the white racist regime to the ANC-led liberation alliance. The socio-economic programme of any revolutionary democratic government in South Africa will be determined, as Slovo later says, by 'the actual correlation of class forces which have come to power'. However, what Slovo does not say is that this 'correlation of forces' will depend on the political struggle waged by the working class and its allies among the oppressed strata *now* until the seizure of power. The task of the vanguard party is to fight for the best possible conditions for the working class in alliance with the op-

ger', who favour a 'far-reaching shift away from apartheid'. While not part of the 'revolutionary forces', they obviously 'contribute to the weakening of the main enemy and some of them are clearly part of the opposition line-up'. Who these 'disparate forces' are and which class interests they represent is left to the imagination. Will the demands of even the *Freedom Charter* be diluted to include them? After all a 'far reaching shift away from apartheid' is very different from its revolutionary overthrow.

The ANC-led liberation alliance, as Slovo states, also represents 'different classes and strata (overwhelmingly black)' and while all may subscribe to 'the slogan of People's Power they cannot be expected to share exactly the same vision about its content and the future', since they suffer varying de-

set by the ANC. And that is presumably what Slovo is getting at when he says

'if correct leadership of the democratic revolution requires the strengthening of the national movement as the major and leading mass organisational force, then this is precisely the way in which a party exercises its vanguard role in the real and not vulgar sense of the term.'

In other words, the SACP will refuse to play a vanguard role and refuse to fight for the independent interests of the working class in the national movement.

This conclusion is reinforced once Slovo leaps forward and discusses the socio-economic measures that a revolutionary democratic government led by the ANC would take on coming to power. In one case Slovo seems to back track on even the demands of the *Freedom Charter*. The *Freedom Charter* says that 'the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole'. This surely means the expropriation of land, the mines and monopoly industry. In his speech, however, Slovo is again deliberately imprecise and speaks of 'immediate state measures on the land question and against the giant monopoly complexes which dominate mining, banking and industry' after a 'democratic victory'. Slovo then goes on to state that partial measures to redistribute wealth do not in themselves point in a socialist direction. Even Gavin Relly chair of Anglo-American, says Slovo, thinks such measures might be necessary 'albeit in truncated form'. But then the *Freedom Charter* is not a programme for socialists but a 'common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists'. The issue now, it seems, is how far these 'non-socialists' stretch.

Any concessions Gavin Relly could be forced to make would only be in the interests of maintaining the massive profits of Anglo-American—profits wrung out of the super-exploitation of black workers in South Africa. There is one way and one way only to deal with Anglo-American and that is to nationalise it—transfer it to the 'ownership of the people'. A communist should be absolutely firm on this issue. In his speech Slovo is not.

In spite of the fact that Slovo has stated that the future socio-economic programme will be determined by the 'actual correlation of class forces which have come to power', this does not stop him from giving clear projections for the relations between private and social property after the seizure of power.

'For some while after apartheid falls there will undoubtedly be a mixed economy, implying a role for levels of non-monopoly private enterprise represented not only by the small racially oppressed black business sector but also by managers and business people of goodwill who have or are prepared to shed racism.'

Anyone who questions this projection becomes 'an indigenous representative of the disastrous Pol Pot philosophy who can project a pole-vault into socialism and communism the day after overthrow of white rule'. Again Slovo deals with potential critics by demagogic and rhetorical methods.

But no one can really be deceived. Slovo's imprecision, his use of the unscientific term 'mixed economy'—Britain is said by many to have a 'mixed economy'—his failure to specify that the land and monopoly industry will be expropriated and so on, is telling those 'disparate forces', especially 'recent defectors from the white laager', that it is safe to join the liberation front led by the ANC. Their interests will be safeguarded. The involvement of the SACP is no problem. They can see it is a very reasonable and respectable Party. The same message is being put over to the international 'community'—more precisely international social democracy, including our very own home-grown reactionary Neil Kinnock. Finally, in order to cement the relationship with all these 'disparate forces', Slovo tells us that the drive towards a socialist future in South Africa 'within a truly democratic framework, could well be settled in debate rather than on the streets'. The SACP is in fact laying before us the prospect of a peaceful road to socialism.



COMMUNISTS AND THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

not go, in any serious sense, beyond the ANC's *Freedom Charter*, together with a crude political defence of the SACP against a number of alternative political trends.

The key issue for communists in the South African revolution is the relationship between the national democratic revolution to overthrow the racist apartheid state and the socialist revolution. The SACP holds to a theory that South Africa is a colony of a *special type*. According to this position, the relationship between the dominant white minority and the oppressed black masses in South Africa reflects the typical pattern of relationships between the imperialist states and their colonies or neo-colonies. It is this, says the SACP, which makes 'the main content of the immediate struggle for change the national

tion can possibly mean, Slovo immediately goes on the offensive. He attacks unnamed critics who oversimplify this process, use rhetorical flamboyance and simplistic sloganising of 'class against class' and want to take the Party back to the days of 'splendid isolation from the national movement and the black working population'. To use such demagogic and rhetorical methods of arguing against unnamed critics is an unacceptable way for a communist to deal with a crucial political argument. Clearly Slovo feels vulnerable on this issue and doesn't want his argument too deeply probed. As he goes on it is easy to see why.

There is some difficulty in following Slovo's argument from now on as he continually switches back and forth from the role of the Party in the ANC-led liberation alliance to the measures to

pressed masses so that it is able to impose its interests on any revolutionary democratic government after the seizure of power.

Slovo argues that the main thrust of the immediate struggle is to implement the ANC's *Freedom Charter*—'a minimum platform for uniting all classes and groups for the achievement of a non-racial, united democratic South Africa based on the rule of the majority'. It is imperative, Slovo continues, to create the broadest possible front against the 'racist autocracy'. This front would 'contain disparate forces', however, the ANC-led liberation alliance, representing the main revolutionary forces, is 'clearly the key sector of this front'. Included in these 'disparate forces' will be a 'variety of other groupings' including recent 'defectors from the white laager'.

degrees of national oppression and exploitation. Only the black working class is the most consistent guarantor of genuine liberation as 'it has the smallest stake in the status quo'. However, not to worry, both the ANC and the Party 'emphasise the dominant role of the working people in the coalition of the class forces which constitute the liberation front'. Nevertheless the ANC 'does not and should not commit itself exclusively to the aspirations of a single class', so only the Party can safeguard the dominant role of the working class in the ANC-led liberation alliance. How will it do this? Apparently by *not* seeking itself 'to occupy the dominant position in the liberation alliance'. This can only mean that the SACP will attempt to contain the demands of the working class within the political limits already

At the heart of this discussion is the relationship between the national democratic and socialist revolution. Slovo is forced to discuss this in the form of 'the hardy perennial - the so-called "two-stage theory" of the South African revolution'. It is said that his Party's

'preoccupation with the national democratic objectives of the immediate anti-racist struggle has led to an abandonment of socialist objectives. We are alleged to believe that in the interests of the popular alliance, the working class should not assert its primacy and should forget all about socialist perspectives until apartheid has been overthrown; a scenario which would leave the way open for the revolution to be hijacked by exploiters with black faces who will ensure that it is stopped in its tracks'.

Our analysis of his speech does show that this seems to be the case. It is true as Slovo says that revolution is a continuing process. It is also true that it goes through strategic and tactical phases - including a national democratic phase in the case of South Africa. But 'the ingredients of the later phase' will only 'mature in the womb of the earlier' if the Communist Party asserts and defends the independent interests of the black working class at each and every turn. Communists *neither* put forward the demand for a socialist republic now in South Africa (Trotskyism) *nor* fail to assert the primacy of the working class until the victory of the national democratic revolution (Menshevism). The alternative to the Trotskyist and Menshevik positions is the Leninist standpoint of continuous revolution.

This recognises that you cannot go on to socialism except by the revolutionary democratic path - through the national democratic revolution. But neither can the national democratic revolution be completed nor its gains defended without going on to socialism. Between the two stages there is an indissoluble connection, they are facets of one revolution and not two revolutions. In 1976, Slovo appeared to recognise this when he said:

'There is objective ground for the belief that "under South African conditions the national democratic revolution has great prospects of proceeding at once to socialist solutions". This follows from the undoubted reality that no significant national demand can be successfully won without the destruction of the existing capitalist structure... National liberation, in its true sense, must therefore imply the expropriation of the owners of the means of production (monopolised by a bourgeoisie drawn from the white group) and the complete destruction of the state which serves them. There can be no half-way house...' (*South Africa - No Middle Road*)

In 1986, ten years later, Slovo has retreated far from his earlier position. As the victory of the national democratic revolution draws closer so Slovo seeks to contain and restrict the demands of the only class that can ensure its victory; the black working class.

Now it becomes clear why we heard no incisive analysis of the latest stage of the South African revolution. To give such an analysis, Slovo would have had to point to the significance of the new organs of working class power developing in the townships, the dramatic rise of trade union organisation, power, and struggle, the critical role played by black youth and students and the vital necessity of arming the working class if the national democratic revolution is to be victorious and its gains defended. For a communist analysis of the South African revolution would have made no concessions to the very forces Slovo is now trying to woo - the 'disparate forces' in South Africa. It is also clear why there was no call to communists to step up the solidarity struggle in Britain. For such a call would demand a political struggle against the Kinnock-led Labour Party in Britain.

David Reed

* All quotes from the speech are taken from the pamphlet published by Inkululeko Publications

** See 'An Analysis of South African capitalism - Neo Ricardianism or Marxism?' by Michael Williams in the *Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists* February 1975 Vol IV 1 p19-38

Libya

The Reagan administration is launching a new campaign of aggression against Libya. In mid-August the US and Egyptian navies conducted military exercises in the Mediterranean within striking distance of Libya. These were followed by the USS Forrestal sailing away from its port of call in 'Israel' towards Libyan waters, and the dispatching to Europe of US ambassador to the UN, General Vernon Walters. He will be pressing European imperialist governments to further cut economic, political and diplomatic ties with Libya. 'We're sending a signal' a US official said 'that we're ready and we could be right back in there real quick.' Once again these threats are being justified by rhetoric about 'combatting terrorism'. Behind these threats of direct military action and additional economic and political isolation, lie US hopes of inspiring a coup against Colonel Gaddafi.

Palestine

Attempts are being made to convene a meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC - the Palestinian parliament) representing all trends in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). A truly representative PNC could be a first step in reunifying the movement which split after the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The proposal for such a meeting followed Soviet sponsored discussions between two left-wing organisations opposed to Yassir Arafat - the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestine Communist Party - and Al Fatah the organisation led by Yassir Arafat. The success of these moves now depends on Yassir Arafat's response to conditions placed by the National Salvation Front (NSF) which groups the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and other organisations opposed to him. They have demanded, as a condition for attending the PNC, that Arafat renounces his 1986 Amman Accord with King Hussein and revokes his 1985 statement opposing any Palestinian armed struggle outside Palestine. Despite Hussein's closing of 25 Al Fatah offices and his expulsion of leading Al Fatah members from Jordan, Arafat has yet to reject the Accord.



A senseless, brutal and genocidal war

On 22 September 1980 Iraqi bombers attacked the capital of Iran, Tehran, and ten Iranian airfields. Iraqi tanks poured across the Iranian border. One of the most senseless, brutal and genocidal of all wars since 1945, had begun.

Human life has seldom been wasted on this scale. In the first imperialist war, pigs were trained to run through minefields. The Iranians, however, have used children, some only 12 years old have been sent to certain death.

It is almost impossible to grasp the religious fanaticism that promotes the human-wave tactic. Iranian soldiers are told that according to the prophet Mohammad, dying in defence of Islam is the surest way of getting to paradise. In two battles in the summer of 1982 Iran lost 100,000 men and boys. Other battles have been even more costly. Khomeini is confident that with a population of 40 million, three times that of Iraq, victory will be achieved - even if it takes another six years.

Tamils

from page 16

Regardless of the opposition from the Tamil people and from reactionaries among his own Sinhalese people, who are against offering the Tamils anything at all, Jayewardene is pressing ahead with his phoney proposals. He is seeking an alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie which will put pressure on the Tamil bourgeoisie to accept the proposals and so split the Tamil ranks. Rajiv Gandhi has told the Tamils to accept negotiations and reach an agreement or their bases in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu will be removed. The Indian bourgeoisie fears the destabilising effect of the Tamil national question. Above all it fears that a revolutionary

socialist Tamil Eelam will trigger the revolutionary process in India itself.

The Tamil struggle is not dependent upon the grace and favour of the Indian government, it depends upon the will of the Tamil people. Tamil militants are transferring their bases from Tamil Nadu into the liberated areas around Jaffna. They have steadfastly refused to accept a ceasefire and claim the right to wage a defensive war. 'We told the Government of India that while we would not launch any military offensive, we reserved the right to protect our Tamil people by repulsing any advances from the camps in the north and east' stated one Tamil militant.

True to their word, the Tigers have recently engaged and repulsed an attempt by Sri Lankan troops to break

out of their garrisons in the eastern Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. At the same time the Tigers have strengthened their positions around the central southern city of Kilinochi: critical point in the Sri Lankan attempt to divide Tamil Eelam and gain land access to the Jaffna peninsula.

The Tigers are reported to have established a fully-fledged ordnance factory in Jaffna capable of manufacturing 25 six-inch mortar shells and 100 hand grenades a day. The Tigers have even set up a military training academy there from which 80 guerrillas graduate every three months.

On every front the risen Tamil people are answering Jayewardene and his imperialist backers: they are building the socialist state of Tamil Eelam.

Trevor Rayne

CIA GOES TO WAR ON SANDINISTAS

Workers and peasants in revolutionary Nicaragua are preparing to confront a new and more intense round of US sponsored murder, pillage, rape and terror. On 13 August, the US Senate voted to provide \$100m to the contras. This vote also opened up CIA funds of up to \$500m when required. The contra criminals virtually destroyed in 1985 have been given a new lease of life. US dollars will allow them to purchase aircraft, military vehicles and sophisticated weaponry. In addition, they will be trained by US Green Berets hoping to transform this brutal, sadistic, drug smuggling gang of killers into an effective military instrument against the Sandinista revolution.

However, even top US officials recognise that the contras will never succeed in militarily defeating the revolution. This however is not the role assigned to them by US imperialism. They exist to sap the strength and morale of the revolution by means of terror and economic sabotage, as but one part of Reagan's low intensity war including economic, political and diplomatic aggression.

The impending contra offensive will further aggravate the Nicaraguan economy already seriously undermined

by US orchestrated sanctions and sabotage. Due to the war 50% of the budget is spent on defence at the expense of economic production and social welfare. Estimated export revenue for 1986 is \$250m, a third of what is required for food, clothing and raw materials, while non-military imports will reach \$900m. The US trade embargo since last May has cost the government \$108m and since 1980, the US has blocked over \$400m in desperately needed credit. Additionally, a drought threatens to

destroy the country's cotton and corn crops. Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramirez has stated that 'The crisis is so profound that even supplying food is very difficult.'

On the political and diplomatic front, the Reagan administration has arrogantly brushed aside the Contadora peace proposals accepted by the Sandinista government and vetoed a UN resolution upholding the World Court ruling that funding the contras is a breach of international law. US imperialism is bent on the destruction of the Sandinista revolution.

The Nicaraguan people facing this ruthless monster stand virtually alone. Where international support would count most, the labour movements in the US and other imperialist countries, there reigns either direct complicity or deadening indifference. European Social Democracy, once vocal in their support for the Contadora peace process, have been reduced to silence following the US rejection of it. Only the socialist countries and oppressed nations are extending any significant support to this revolution under siege. The Soviet Union this year will provide up to \$270 million in aid to help cover the country's deficit and is also helping the Sandinistas to arm against the contras.

The people of Nicaragua remain confident of their ability to defeat the contras. But they know that this will not signal an end to US aggression and to plans for direct US intervention. A leader of the crack Juan Pablo Umanzor Battalion speaking about the contras said:

'They have no chance of winning. We are looking beyond the contra war to the bigger one against the invading US forces'.

Eddie Abrahams

Revolutionary Guards were felt in the Iranian student communities all over the world. The Iranian government sent a directive to all its embassies to mark the files of those suspected of supporting Mujahedin, or other anti-Khomeini organisations. These students' money was stopped and their passports confiscated. There are many cases of students that were sent back to Iran only to be arrested, tortured and eventually executed.

It is a fact that this war revolves around oil - oil production and revenues have financed carnage and blood letting. Significantly, the price of oil has plummeted from over \$30 a barrel to around \$12. With crude oil accounting for 95% of Iran's exports, this year's earnings could be as low as \$7 billion against an import bill of \$5 billion for war materials alone. Only the merchants of death, the armaments industries of the imperialist nations, have profited

from this war. When it started, most military experts predicted that the conflict would be over within a fortnight as both sides would run out of armaments. Instead, both sides have been able to spend around \$100 billion purchasing weapons.

Despite the intense desire of Iranian people for peace, and international efforts to bring the six year old Iran-Iraq war to an end, the conflict is still being prolonged by the Khomeini regime in order to suppress the rising nationwide resistance of the Iranian people. On the Iranian side alone, the war has brought over a million dead and wounded, more than three million refugees and hundreds of billions of dollars in material damage. Khomeini is insisting on pursuing the war as a means of generating crisis and instability in the region in order to prolong the rule of his failing regime.

Kamran Mashadi

THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT OF HULL '76



Mike Russell was within two months of finishing a five year prison sentence when Hull prison exploded. He was consequently to spend a further 16 months in prison.

Hull was considered a 'liberal' prison from 1968 to 1970. Significantly, very little use was made of solitary confinement and Rule 43. However, from 1970 rules were tightened. Discipline became 'stricter' - more oppressive, that is.

By 1975, Hull had the worst record of any dispersal prison for repression. In 1975 8% of all 'offences' committed in dispersal prisons were committed in Hull. Yet Hull accounted for 40% of all sentences of solitary confinement. In 1968 there were only 9 solitary confinements given as punishments; in 1975 there were 122 - a more than thirteen-fold increase.

When Artie Clifford was beaten on 31 August 1976, Hull prisoners had had enough. 'We decided,' Mike Russell told us, 'to have a peaceful protest.' Governor Kearns had departed just two weeks before, to be replaced by H Parr. Parr was, however, in the same mould. He refused to talk to the prisoners. 'He told us he wasn't going to be dictated to by "convicts, murderers and IRA terrorists".'

Mike told us how the prisoners formed their own elected committee. They decided to remain in the centre of the prison until Clifford was released. All the other prisoners were locked up. About 80 took part in the protest.

They were put in A wing. Very quickly the wing was wrecked. As Ray Mac Lochlainn described it:

'...that whole wing was wrecked from top to bottom... The release and frustration and anger and everything else, all the pent-up emotions in prison.'

The prisoners got through to the block

and released Artie Clifford who bore visible marks of his beating. They freed all the prisoners in segregation. Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, described his feelings as he helped release the prisoners in solitary:

'I also felt and adored the feeling of how the cons down in the block hugged us as if we had just broken them from hell, some were so happy they even had tears in their eyes...'

At this stage, on the first day of the rising, Mike Russell explained, there were still many prisoners unwilling to take part or undecided. It was then that prisoners captured the files held on the prisoners.

As Mike said, 'once they saw the shit written about them', the undecided prisoners joined in. 'One guy had a life sentence "after 13 years this man is to be nipped off, never ever to get out of jail". He was married, "we must break up this man's marriage".'

The prisoners broke through to the roof and gained control of A, C and D wings. They held them for four days despite the drafting in of prison officers from all over the country. The prison was surrounded by armed police. Army vehicles and soldiers were seen outside the prison.

The divisions vanished. 'The strength of Hull was that everybody forgot their personal differences. What mattered was us and them. We elected a committee to negotiate. It was very very democratic. Everyone could say their piece. All the demands were voted on.'

The prisoners negotiated with the Home Office. Their main demands were: restoration of privileges, no victimisation, no damage to property, right to see solicitors, a public inquiry. They also demanded that they surrender only to Hull prison officers - so that they could identify them in case of attack

Each prisoner was to be seen by an independent doctor. The Home Office agreed. On 3 September, the prisoners ended the Hull rising in perfect discipline. Only one prison officer had been slightly hurt in the whole rising. The Home Office reneged on the agreement.

Within days the systematic beating of prisoners - especially Irish and black prisoners - began. Mike explains what happened to him:

'They kicked and banged on my door all night. "We're going to get you, you black bastard." The next morning when I had to slop out, I had to go through the gauntlet of screws. They kicked me, punched me up and down the landing 3 or 4 times. The screws shouted "Come on, niggers are good runners..."'

The beating was repeated when Mike went to get his breakfast. Dozens of prisoners were viciously and repeatedly beaten while assistant governor A S Manning watched.

After the beatings came the adjudication. The Hull Board of Visitors handed out massive sentences of solitary and loss of remission - up to 720 days loss of remission: equivalent to a prison sentence of nearly three years.

Mike described his own 'hearing' in which two different prison officers claimed to have seen him in two different places at the same time. Another officer's statement was used although the officer was not at the 'hearing' and could not be questioned. Mike objected to such kangaroo court practices. 'I sat down and showed them my back. So they found me guilty on all charges.' He was given 480 days loss of remission - equivalent to a two year prison sentence.

Thanks to the persistent work of PROP the truth about the rising, particularly about the savage beatings, gradually emerged. After a delay of two years

To mark the 10th anniversary of the Hull prison rising in 1976 we publish this account based on the PROP collection of prisoners' statements *Don't Mark His Face*; an interview with Irish POW Ray Mac Lochlainn published in *FRFI* 41; and an interview given to *FRFI* by black prisoner Mike Russell in July.

12 prison officers and assistant governor Manning were tried at York Crown Court in 1978. The AG and 4 prison officers were acquitted. The maximum sentence against the 8 found guilty was 9 months imprisonment suspended. At the time of this trial, some prisoners were still serving their punishments from the rising.

Despite the brutal revenge exacted by the prison authorities the Hull prison rising remains the high point of prisoner resistance in Britain. Ray Mac Lochlainn said:

'...a great comradeship built up between all prisoners, blacks, English, Irish, everybody... it was really international in a sense... It was really as if you were released from prison...'

Mike Russell agreed that the Hull rising was a moment of genuine 'liberation' for prisoners.

The democratic spirit of the Hull prisoners and their courage has inspired prisoners ever since. Hull 1976 marked the emergence of Irish POWs in the prison struggle in Britain. It forged an alliance of Irish, black and 'ordinary' prisoners which has fought again and again since: Gartree 1978; Wormwood Scrubs 1979; Albany 1983; Wormwood Scrubs 1983.

Terry O'Halloran, Alexa Byrne, Beth Summers

IN MEMORIAM

IRA Volunteer Ray Mac Lochlainn died on Monday 9 September 1985. He spent ten years in British prisons, from 1974 to 1984. Throughout his life, inside and outside prison, he was a Republican fighter, a socialist and an internationalist. Communists, Republicans and thousands of prisoners in Britain will always remember him.

Psychiatric abuse in Frankland

Prisoners protest against psychiatric abuses in Parkhurst and the 'showpiece' Frankland prison.

The abuse of psychiatry and the flagrant use of 'liquid cosh' is taking place here at Frankland for the purpose of control and suppression. In fact so bad have things become that even the Home Office has decided to uphold a complaint by prisoner Keith Mulcahy that he was forcibly drugged against his will. Mulcahy's MP Roy Galley is now pressing the Home Office for compensation on his behalf. Another complaint by Mulcahy that he was beaten up and stripped by screws was predictably rejected by the Home Office during the same inquiry.

The recent creation of a psychiatric/therapeutic unit at Parkhurst has led to a situation here at Frankland where prison 'doctors' are regularly seeking out the compliance of various 'difficult' prisoners for their transfer to the unit. The offer to go to Parkhurst in order to 'undergo treatment' is made especially to prisoners who are being held indefinitely in solitary confinement under Prison Rule 43B.

Alongside the use and abuse of psychiatric methods of control is the creation of a graded cell system of punishment and behaviour modification inside the segregation/control unit. As the first purpose-built long-term top-security prison Frankland came complete with toilet and washing facilities inside the individual cells. Over the past few months screws inside the segregation/control unit have been removing toilets, sinks, beds and floor covering from various cells and constructing cages and perspex screens across the heavily barred windows. Prisoners confined within this unit now have to 'earn' by 'good and co-operative behaviour' a cell containing the basic requirements of life. This concentrated form of control and suppression reaches out to the ordinary wings of the prison, and the prison population generally here is being progressively broken down into smaller and easier manageable groups or units.

What's presently happening here represents a blueprint of organisational policy for the entire long-term prison system, and indeed is now being reproduced at Albany and Hull at the present time. The anticipated concurrent growth of prisoners' resistance to the creation of an Alcatraz-type long-term prison system makes the systematic use of drugs and psychiatry, as a weapon of suppression, an intrinsic part of that overall policy.

John Bowden, John Anslow, Stuart Blackstock, John McGranaghan, Terry Stebbings, HMP Frankland

INSIDE NEWS

Fighting harassment and political censorship

Comrades at FRFI were very pleased to hear in July from Alan Lee Byrne after months of silence. Since his imprisonment Alan has been persistently harassed and moved from jail to jail. At one stage he was in the punishment blocks of 4 different prisons in the space of 8 weeks, without being charged. He has been refused copies of *FRFI*. *FRFI* 60 was the first he received for nearly 6 months. Three letters he had written out to our London and Scottish offices were simply left in the prison 'owing to an

error'. Alan has now been moved to Wakefield prison in Yorkshire hundreds of miles from his family. He is being held in the notorious 'F' wing punishment block in solitary confinement. As he says 'the Home Office knew exactly what hardship they were putting on my family by moving me here...'

Despite this harassment Alan continues to protest his innocence. He is refusing to go on normal location until his case is reviewed. He is locked up for 23 hours a day, has one hour's exercise in a cage and has lost nearly all his personal possessions including toiletries.

FRFI has written in protest to the

Home Office prison department and awaits a response from there. Also Gerry Birmingham MP and the NCCL are taking up the issue on Alan's behalf.

All readers should protest strongly to the Home Office and send solidarity messages to Alan. We cannot allow the British prison system to get away with such political censorship and harassment.

Alan Lee Byrne B71850, F Wing, HMP 5 Love Lane, Wakefield, West Yorkshire, WF2 9AG

The Prison Department, Cleland House, Page Street, London SW1

Irish Republican prisoners in solitary in Dutch jails

Brendan McFarlane and Gerard Kelly, two of the 38 republican POWs who escaped from the H-blocks in 1983, are being held in indefinite solitary confinement in Dutch prisons. The restrictions imposed on them include: separate recreation facilities; visits separated by glass wall; no collective activities; one telephone call in the week with lawyer;

normal telephone facilities but will be recorded.

Added to this repression the two men are in different jails separated by over 100 miles. They are only allowed to contact each other through letters and the Dutch courts and Justice Ministry have ruled out visits. Their case is being heard on 10 September and they are having to build up their defence individually. As Brendan says, this is a political case which needs a unified political defence. The Dutch authorities are denying the two men the right to prepare properly and as such are hand-in-glove with the British government.

Readers should write urgently in protest to the Dutch government at this serious injustice. Please also send solidarity messages to Brendan McFarlane, Huis van Bewaring De Schans, Postbus 41901, 1009 CE Amsterdam and Gerry Kelly, PW8 cel 13, Huis Maastricht, Willen Alexanderweg 21, Postbus 320, 6200 AH Maastricht, Holland. Write in protest to the Royal Netherlands Embassy, 38 Hyde Park Gate, London, SW7. **Alexa**

We want homes not jails

On 29 July, the Queen officially opened Glasgow's new Sheriff Court - the largest Sheriff Court in Europe. It cost £28 million and has cells for 2,000 people. It has clearly been built in preparation for major 'civil disturbances'.

There are 20,000 unemployed in Strathclyde, and 2,000 officially homeless in Glasgow. One in a thousand people in Scotland are in prison - the highest amount of prisoners per head of population in Europe, apart from the Six Counties of Ireland. Scotland already has a vast arsenal of repression that includes 14 prisons and 9 young offenders institutions, including the notorious Glenochil death camp.

On the day the court was opened they didn't quite have it all their own way, though. Over 100 young people demonstrated outside the court with a simple message: 'We want Homes not Jails'. **Graham Johnson**

IRA hits collaborators

Do it yourself – that's the message for the British Army and the RUC from the IRA. Following IRA warnings and action against suppliers of state forces, the British Army and RUC are repairing their own blitzed barracks, bringing in their own food supplies and carrying out their own rubbish. This tactic, along with successful IRA operations against military personnel, has isolated and demoralised the imperialist forces and caused serious worry in the offices of Tom King and Peter Barry.

Imperialism relies on the support of those sections which are economically dependent on it in Ireland. It cannot maintain its war machine without the services provided by local business interests and those they employ. Mitchel McLaughlin, Sinn Féin councillor, described the role of the collaborators:

'These civilians whether pushing pens or pushing brooms permit the release of British army and UDR personnel from these tasks and enable them to carry out patrol duties.'

His point was underlined by a night time RUC operation on 14 August to remove hundreds of sacks of rubbish which had built up outside Portadown barracks after six weeks without rubbish collections.

Since the IRA blasted Newry barracks in February 1985, killing 9 RUC men, they have continued to hit Army and RUC barracks and have prevented repair work from taking place. At first, warnings to those engaged in assisting the occupation forces were ignored. But the IRA has acted to enforce its ban. Work on the rebuilding of Enniskillen RUC barracks stopped immediately after the execution of businessman John Kyle on 30 July. On 5 August the IRA issued a statement in which it gave its final warning to collaborators and named leading businessmen and firms involved in military contracts. As a result Laings pulled out of a contract at RAF Aldergrove; fuel and food suppliers across the Six Counties have publicly withdrawn and RUC stations at Dungannon, Cookstown, Strabane and Newcastle no longer have rubbish col-



Firemen tackle blazes at Enniskillen RUC barracks after IRA mortar attack in September 1985

lections. The IRA campaign continued when RUC barracks in Newry and Downpatrick were bombed on 28 August and the next day an electrician who had ignored repeated warnings and continued to work on a UDR barracks,

was executed.

The success of the boycott campaign has forced the state to use emergency measures to service its forces. In January, 1,000 extra troops were flown in as a result of increased IRA attacks and to

protect the rebuilding of bombed out barracks. Army engineers have been used to do repair work and labourers, where they can be got, are bussed in or flown in by helicopter. All this means delays and vastly increased costs, which

Tom King has warned will come from existing budgets such as health and education. On 11 August King visited RUC stations under repair in Armagh, but within twelve hours the IRA had blasted another two barracks in Co Tyrone and Co Armagh.

The trade unions both in the Six Counties and in Britain have predictably responded to this situation by defending British imperialism. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions issued a statement reasserting the 'fundamental human right' of workers to live free 'from sectarianism and violence in all its forms'. This was backed by the British TUC. Yet it is a thoroughly misleading statement. Firstly it equates the IRA's political/military campaign against the British state and those who collaborate with it, to the vicious loyalist sectarian campaign against randomly chosen Catholics. Secondly the Six Counties trade union movement has been content to stand by and tolerate discrimination against the nationalist community and has barely said or done anything about the latest concerted loyalist terror campaign. But when collaborators with imperialism are threatened it is vocal in its condemnation and indeed has demanded that special RUC units be set up to give round-the-clock protection to workers engaged in such work.

Jim O'Rourke

JIM REILLY In memoriam

Jim Reilly, Luton Sinn Féin and Home Counties Organiser for Sinn Féin (Britain) died on Friday 26 September 1980. Right up to the moment of his death Jim Reilly continued his lifelong struggle as a revolutionary Republican to free Ireland from British rule. For this he earned the hatred of British imperialism which hounded him to his death.

The Revolutionary Communist Group and Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! salute the courage and dedication of comrade Jim Reilly whose death was a great loss.

Loyalists wage sectarian war

continued from page 1

A number of families have fled the area, others cannot as the Housing Executive refuses to re-house them.

Not content with terrorising nationalists north of the border, DUP leaders Paisley and Robinson have been organising excursions into the Twenty Six Counties. Peter Robinson led several hundred loyalists armed with cudgels and wearing balaclavas into Clontibret, Co Monaghan. There they stopped traffic for 30 minutes, attacked the garda barracks, beat up 2 gardai and left sectarian graffiti on the school. Robinson was arrested and charged with assaulting two gardai, causing malicious damage to their police car, and unlawful assembly. However, the loyalists got their come uppance when on 14 August they returned to court with hundreds of supporters. Local nationalist youth gave them a very hot welcome with stones and petrol bombs by the crateful! The loyalists, so brave when attacking isolated families, cowered in terror and begged the gardai for more protection. Indeed had it not been for the garda protection (which included assaulting the local youths) these loyalists would have suffered even greater retribution.

On 7 August the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF—a pseudonym for the UDA) issued a video-taped threat to extend the murder campaign against Catholics working in loyalist areas. It attempted to portray this threat as a response, 'on a tit-for-tat basis, to the IRA's successful campaign against collaborators. In fact the UFF and associated organisations were already waging an indiscriminate campaign against the entire nationalist community. However, the phoney tit-for-tat argument has been seized on by the British and Twenty Six Counties' governments and media to portray the loyalist terror campaign as a response to an equally sectarian Republican campaign. This is a complete lie. The Republican movement is not slaughtering Protestants but is fighting a war against British imperialist forces—Army, RUC,

UDR—and their collaborators. It is fighting against British rule in Ireland which is at the root of sectarianism. The loyalists are engaged in a very different struggle—one which defends their privilege and is based on racist hatred and indiscriminate attacks against Catholics.

The recent events at the state-owned Shorts aircraft factory, the largest employer in the Six Counties, show just how entrenched is loyalist privilege. Shorts has always been a loyalist employment stronghold; from a workforce of 7000 only between 5 and 14% (estimates vary widely) are Catholic. In August death threats were issued in an attempt to drive all Catholics out of the factory. After these threats Shorts management, which has been under pressure for years to make its discriminatory policies less blatant, acted and ordered the removal of all political (ie loyalist) emblems from the factory. Fearful of losing valuable US orders, the management also threatened to sack any worker found guilty of intimidation. The trade unions verbally backed management. But the reality is that neither the British government, which subsidises the enterprise, nor management and unions are willing or able to stamp out sectarian discrimination and impose an equal employment policy. On 28 August 1000 workers at Shorts walked out in protest against the order to remove flags. By 29 August Shorts' management had climbed down, agreeing to fly the Union Jack over the factory and saying that there was no deadline for the removal of the loyalists' own flags and emblems. No worker has been disciplined for putting up flags. The loyalist working class regards their monopoly on jobs at Shorts and elsewhere as the price of their loyalty. And British imperialism has always been willing to pay that price.

The response of workers in the DHSS to loyalist threats against Catholic workers is a sharp contrast. On 21 August following death threats both Protestant and Catholic workers walked out of DHSS offices in Lisburn and Belfast and from the Housing Executive in Lisburn. The media tried to portray this as a response to both Loyalist and

Republican threats. The latter is an invention—there have been no IRA threats against DHSS workers. In standing together against reactionary loyalist threats the workers have taken a principled stand.

It is clear that the British state would not use the methods of armed repression that it habitually uses against Republicans to quell the present loyalist revolt. It cannot afford to break its fundamental alliance with loyalism, which alone guarantees its rule in Ireland. Hence RUC and Army inaction in the face of the loyalist campaign. A prime example of this occurred in Swatragh, Co Derry on 7 August when 500 armed loyalists descended on the village beating people up and smashing cars and windows. The RUC arrived half an hour after the mob departed. Yet their response the next day to the annual anti-internment bonfires in the Bogside was a huge display of Army and RUC aggression which left 20 people injured by plastic bullets.

It is the nationalist community which has borne the brunt of loyalist outrage about the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Only the IRA is fighting to defend that community. Yet even in the midst of the serious situation facing the nationalists, the Twenty Six Counties' government echoes the British government in reserving its wrath for the IRA. The Twenty Six Counties government has lined up with British imperialism in supporting the division of Ireland from which Loyalism and sectarianism arise.

Meanwhile amidst the loyalist murders and terror came ministerial promises of Autumn action on such earth shattering measures as street signs in Gaelic and the repeal of the Flags and Emblems Act. Only arrogant and foolish imperialists could believe that a people which has fought for 17 years would be satisfied by such insulting trivia. As the official terror of the Army/RUC and the unofficial terror of the loyalist death squads continue, the nationalist people are well aware of the nature of their enemy and the methods required to deal with it.

Maggie Mellon/Maxine Williams

Guildford 4 campaign

Ten months after the World in Action documentary challenging the convictions of the Birmingham Six, and two months after the First Tuesday film exposing how the Guildford Four were wrongfully convicted, there is still no word from the Home Office on these two cases. It is clear that the Free the Guildford Four Campaign has a huge task ahead of it.

On 21 July, and following on from the very successful 9 July London rally, the FGFC picketed the Home Office. Sixty people, the Hill family, the ISM, WRP (Workers Press), IBRG, Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, IFM and other organisations and supporters, demanded the release of the Guildford Four. A letter to Douglas Hurd was handed in which asked: 'What are you doing to secure their release from prison?' It went on: 'You continue to insist on new evidence in the full knowledge that the only evidence on which they were convicted was uncorroborated statements, known to contain over one hundred inconsistencies. We demand that your review... is a public enquiry and that you make your intentions public immediately.' There has been no reply.

The campaign's answer to Home Office silence is to build nationwide activity in support of the Guildford Four. In Glasgow on 23 August 4000 marched behind the Guildford Four campaign banner on a demonstration through Coatbridge. It was organised jointly by the Republican Band Alliance and the West of Scotland Guildford Four Campaign. The march was heavily policed and there were 18 arrests including one FRFI supporter. The demands of the day were: 'Free the Guildford Four and all frame-up victims! Repatriate Irish Republican prisoners to Ireland! End British presence in Ireland! Self-determination for the Irish people!' This march and the setting up of the area support committee is a great boost to the campaign. ISM comrades have been involved in these developments alongside several organisations. In England, two successful London

public meetings on 28 and 31 July were held by the ISM with the First Tuesday film being shown followed by speeches from the Hill family, Maire O'Shea and the ISM. Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee held a 50-strong meeting on the Guildford Four on 27 August.

Plans are underway for a national conference in the Autumn soon after the Channel Four programme scheduled for 16 November on all three major framings—the Birmingham Six, the Maguire Family and the Guildford Four. A national demonstration is scheduled for early 1987. Through these events the campaign hopes that support groups will be set up in other towns and the Home Office will be faced with a campaign growing in strength. In Parliament the latest developments have been an early day motion from five Liberal MPs calling on the Home Secretary to find a mechanism by which the convictions can be reviewed.

Tony Sheridan

Demonstration

On 9 August, supporters of the Irish Solidarity Movement and FRFI joined the Irish Freedom Movement in a march through North London in commemoration of the introduction of internment in the Six Counties fifteen years ago.

The demonstration attracted 1,500 people and was led by the Kevin Lynch Memorial Flute Band, named after the INLA hunger-striker murdered in 1981.

A rally at Whittington Park was addressed by Liz Hill, of the Free the Guildford Four Campaign, who called on the marchers to support the campaign to free her brother Paul and the others framed for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings.



The Birmingham Six: left to right from the top, Patrick Hill, Hugh Callaghan, John Walker, Richard McKelvey, Gerry Hunter, Billy Power

The framing of six Irish men

Reviewed by Maire O'Shea

Error of Judgement. Chris Mullin. Chatto and Windus. £10.95. 270pp

In the atmosphere of anti-Irish hysteria following the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974, which killed 21 people and maimed many more, six Irishmen from Republican ghettos in the Six Counties were arrested, five of them at Heysham on their way to an IRA man's funeral. They were later convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mobs outside the courthouse in Birmingham were demanding to lynch the defendants, factory workers were threatening industrial action, demanding that the bombers be hanged, and that Irish workers be sacked, and the lives of Irish people were threatened. It should have been obvious to an impartial observer that the defendants could not get a fair trial. But the media's selective reporting of the trial – of the defendants' Republican convictions, of the judge's direction to the jury to disregard the defence evidence – saw to it that any impartial observers remained silent. The Irish in Birmingham, some of whom were aware of the prisoners' innocence, were silenced by anti-Irish terror and by the PTA which was rushed

through Parliament in the wake of the bombings, allegedly to prevent a recurrence of the outrage. Though consistently protesting their innocence during and since the trial, the six men themselves were afraid to be associated with any political campaign for their release, until they had exhausted all the legal channels.

The political climate in Britain has now begun to change. Large sections of the public have become aware of police methods: police brutality and conspiracy to frame trade unionists; confessions forced from British airmen in Cyprus. It has now become possible to expose the police and judicial conspiracy to frame the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four.

The Birmingham frame-up was first exposed to the public in the Granada TV *World in Action* programme shown in 1985. Now, an analysis of the case is presented in a book *An Error of Judgement: The Truth About the Birmingham Pub Bombings* by Chris Mullin, an experienced researcher, investigative journalist and editor.

The title of the book may be seen

by some as evidence of impartiality but by the more discerning as dramatic irony. The book leaves one in no doubt of the existence of a judicial conspiracy to cover up the criminal behaviour of the police at the expense of the prisoners. It quotes Lord Denning when he refused the men leave to take action against the police for the injuries received in custody. In his judgement, Denning argued that if the men won then the police would be guilty of perjury, violence and threats. This was such an appalling vista that any sensible person would say that it could not be right that the action should go further!

The refusal of several officers to be interviewed by Mullin, the approval of police methods by the only officer who admitted indirectly to awareness of the police violence used against the men, and the sudden refusal of Dr Yallop, forensic scientist, to appear for the defence at the appeal hearing after agreeing to do so, are all indications of a deliberate cover-up. Dr Yallop had invented the test for explosives traces which was positive on two of the men. The test was subsequently discredited and Dr Yallop had been forced to agree that the test should not be used.

In the preface to the book, the author declares unequivocally his belief in the innocence of the Six, based on painstaking research over a period of nine months. The major part of the book consists of an account of the backgrounds and associations of the men, the events leading up to their arrests, and their brutal treatment in the Morecambe and Birmingham police stations. He contrasts the men's accounts with the police evidence, and examines the trial, the appeal hearing, and the trial of the prison officers at Winson Green, accused of serious assaults on the prisoners. (All were acquitted). He keeps in focus the two parts of the evidence acknowledged by the trial judge to be crucial: the forensic 'evidence' found on two of the men, and the 'confessions' signed by four of them. Mullin accuses the judges at the appeal hearing of 'shifting the goalposts' when they insisted that the forensic evidence was marginal to the men's convictions. He highlights the effect on the jury of the trial judge's antagonistic interference during the cross examination of defence witnesses, and of the judge's self-confessed bias in summing up.

The lack of access to experienced

and committed legal representation was disastrous for the defendants. Evidence uncovered by Mullin on police beatings and evidence to invalidate the forensic tests should have been available at the trial. The flaws in the prosecution case which he discovered should have been exposed in court. The duty solicitor had been reluctant to take on the case and spent only five minutes with the men in the lock-up. They failed to examine the injuries to the men or to object to the presence of police and prison officers during legal visits. They failed to ensure that defence forensic scientists, Dr Black, had himself carried out tests in question, making it easy for the judge to demolish his credibility. Having failed to persuade any Birmingham consultant to examine the injuries they did not approach any other specialists. The barristers whom they briefed did not press several crucial points, in particular the discrepancies in the 'confessions' which described placing the bombs at sites well away from where the explosions in fact occurred and which referred to the bombs being in plastic bags, whereas remains found at the sites of the explosions were of such cases.

In the last section of the book, Chris Mullin claims to have interviewed several of the men really responsible for the bombings including one who planted the bombs in one of the pubs. He is quoted as saying that they did not intend injury to the people in the pub and only agreed to plant the bombs on the understanding that adequate warning would be given, but the warning came too late because the public telephone boxes were out of order.

If Mullin sticks to his promise of these men not to identify them, it is difficult to know why he found it necessary to undertake this detective work. The evidence that the Birmingham Six are innocent and the victims of a police and judicial conspiracy stands by itself and is a sufficient indictment of the racism and brutality of British justice to warn of the dangers of throwing yet more Irish people into its clutches. The result could only be more injury and injustice – not less.

Chris Mullin's researches have uncovered sufficient new evidence to meet the condition made by the Home Office for reopening the case. Mullin's book is an important document proving the innocence of the Six. A massive campaign is needed now to free them

Market Theatre

Born in RSA

Born in the RSA is the latest in a long line of plays to come from the Market Theatre of Johannesburg, a brave and radical non-racial theatre company outspoken in its criticism of the apartheid regime and with an unparalleled reputation outside South Africa. The present production at the Tricycle Kilburn was devised by the company and its artistic director, Barney Simon. Each actor went out in to the streets 'the offices of political lawyers, the law courts, detainee advice centres, the homes of detainees and their parents, people who had suffered violence, betrayal, invasion and loss' (programme notes).

Each of the seven characters speaks directly to the audience. There is no interaction between them on stage. The play starts with a lawyer who explains her powerlessness to help black detainees and her outrage at the way the authorities treat them. A young white student comes almost by accident to be a police informer and betrays the woman he is having an affair with. She is arrested alongside Thenjiwe a black activist wanted by the police. The black characters are not introduced until some way in to the play and the concerns and situation of the white characters are dealt with in such detail that the experiences of Thenjiwe, her sister Sindiswa and Zack the lodger are given compar-

atively minor importance. The style of addressing the audience directly also weakens the production as it lacks the drama of real situation being played out on stage.

There are flashes of brilliance and political insight particularly from the black actors as the mother of detained ten year old Dumisani looks for him and Thenjiwe is made to stand up for 28 days and learns to sleep standing up with her eyes open. 'The boers sleep with their guns because they are afraid of the children.' There are telling insights of the mentality of the whites many of whom are getting out. 'I wish my grandmother was Irish' says a young, white single mother, 'but with my luck she would have been born in Ulster'.

Ultimately, although the divisions in the white community are of interest, it becomes too central a part of the exposition and the oppression and resistance of the black people during the State of Emergency takes second place. This is a serious flaw and I hope that future Market Theatre productions will not make the same mistake.

Richard Roques

Born in the RSA is showing until 27 September at the Tricycle Theatre, Kilburn

Chernobyl disaster

The worst accident in the world, Chernobyl: the end of the nuclear dream. Nigel Hawkes, Geoffrey Lean, David Leigh, Robin McKie, Peter Pringle, Andrew Wilson. Pan Books £2.95 pbk. 246pp

Written by a team of *Observer* reporters the book provides a graphic and fairly sympathetic account of the Chernobyl disaster and of Soviet efforts to cope with its effects. There are fewer than average anti-Soviet clichés in the book. While clearly not pretending to be a socialist analysis of the issues, the book achieves a journalistic balance in its examination of the nuclear industry in the US, Britain and the Soviet Union. The writers take pains to debunk some of the anti-Soviet myths propounded at the time of the disaster. For example they quote evidence that the reactor at Chernobyl far from being the 'inherently unsafe, uncensurable heaps of junk that some Western nuclear engineers have subsequently claimed them to be' did in fact have 'substantial safety advantages over Western reactors'.

The book also provides a layperson's guide to nuclear terminology. If you ever wanted to know what a becquerel is or what is the difference between a Magnox and a PWR reactor, this must be a good book to start with.

Of particular interest is the section dealing with the development of civil

nuclear power in the US and Britain, with its hand in hand ties with the military. Windscale (now Sellafield) was initially set up as a purely military site for the production of atomic bombs. The British nuclear programme was initiated under the 'left' post-war Labour government in conditions of total secrecy. Only Clement Attlee and six government



ministers were informed for the first 16 months. If the book tends to dwell

more on the US than Britain, it is because successive British governments have kept all nuclear matters shrouded in total secrecy. Hence for

example it has taken 28 years for the truth about the Windscale fire to emerge. The book suggests, and this is now borne out by the Soviet account, that the accident at Chernobyl was caused by human error. In looking at the safety record in the US, the authors cite a horrifying picture of

imperialist struggle of their people. He cites Marx, in his challenge to 'all scholars, all philosophers, all the men and women of letters, all those who in their different disciplines are trying to explain the world'.

'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it' and ends with

'This is what this book on the politics of language in African literature has really been about: national, democratic and human liberation... Struggle. Struggle makes history. Struggle makes us. In struggle is our history, our language and our being...'

Maggie Mellon

safety procedures flouted. A twelve inch thick file made public in the US under the Freedom of Information Act cites among countless other examples the plugging of a hole in a reactor pipe with a basketball wrapped in rubber tape, the connection of a 3,000 gallon radioactive water tank to a drinking water fountain, the installation of safety equipment backwards and upside down. The point the authors are trying to make is that no system can be free of human errors.

One aspect barely touched on by the writers is the enormous suffering, death and environmental devastation caused by the mining of uranium, the fuel of nuclear power. The major centres are Namibia (described in the book as South Africa!), where black miners work and live in slave conditions with a life expectancy of barely a few years; Australia, where the main uranium deposits lie beneath Aboriginal territories; and the US where again the deposits lie beneath those of the indigenous American Indians.

The book pours scorn on British safety procedures in case of accident. The Soviet authorities eventually were forced to evacuate people from a 19 miles radius of Chernobyl. The British government plans for an evacuation from a mere 1.5 mile radius. A ban on milk is proposed for a mere 25 mile radius, whereas after Chernobyl, governments hundreds of miles away banned the consumption of milk.

The book begins by quoting a Soviet official as saying that nuclear energy is now only an 'interim solution' to the world's energy problem. However, since its publication, the Soviet Union have made it clear that they intend to continue their nuclear programme, at least for the foreseeable future. This is surely a disappointing response to the accident at Chernobyl, which, by its demonstration of the terrifying and uncontrollable force of nuclear fission, shows that nuclear energy is far from being the 'socialist answer' to the world's energy problem.

Olivia Adamson

Culture of struggle

Decolonising the mind – the politics of language in African literature. Ngugi wa Thiong'o. James Curry/Heinemann. £4.95. 114pp

In his last book written in English, rather than his own Gikuyu language, Ngugi wa Thiong'o deals a final blow to the pretensions of the English/European languages to represent the highest forms of human culture.

Ngugi's education as a Kenyan child in primary and secondary schools shows how the English language, and contempt for native language was forcibly inculcated in African children. One of the first acts of the colonial administration at the start of the anti-colonial Mau-Mau struggle was to stamp out the use of native languages in schools. Ngugi

recounts how children were encouraged to inform on each other for using their mother tongue and how ridicule and abuse were heaped on those 'caught' or informed on for doing so. Only a pass in English could guarantee further education, no matter how brilliant a pupil was in other subjects.

The question which Ngugi addresses in his book is – what is culture? If the education of the colonial and neo-colonial regimes is to be rejected – what is to replace it? He locates culture for the people of Africa and for all people involved in the struggle for progress and liberation

as the literary and dramatic expression of the resistance of a people to national and domestic oppression. Thus, at the highest point of the anti-imperialist struggle in Kenya, the Mau-Mau war against the British administration and its collaborators, the stories, songs and plays addressed themselves to the problems, victories and defeats of the vanguard of the people. Similarly, Ngugi's work in modern neo-colonial Kenya was suppressed when he took his university-based anti-colonialism out to the people. He and other intellectuals worked with the peasants and workers of Kamirithu to develop a people's theatre and literature which reflected the people's problems and struggles, and their history. This work could not fail to expose the neo-colonial state headed then by Kenyatta, and now by Arap Moi, Kenyatta's second-in-command and former official in a British concentration camp during the emergency. Thousands of people flocked to

Kamirithu to the people's theatre to see the play 'I will marry when I want' performed by local people. Ngugi was thrown in detention and the play banned. In detention, Ngugi's greatest work, *Devil on the Cross*, was written in Gikuyu, and subsequently published. It was so successful amongst its chosen audience that it was read in bars and other public places to groups of people thus reviving the story-telling traditions for a modern purpose – the struggle of a people to reclaim their history and to identify and unite against their enemy in the fight for progress and liberation.

Ngugi's refusal to write in English as a first language any more is not a refusal to share or be part of the search for common concerns and purpose in the fight for the future of humanity. Just as Shakespeare, Balzac, Lenin, Marx, Brecht and others have been translated into many different languages, so too can the African literature of the anti-

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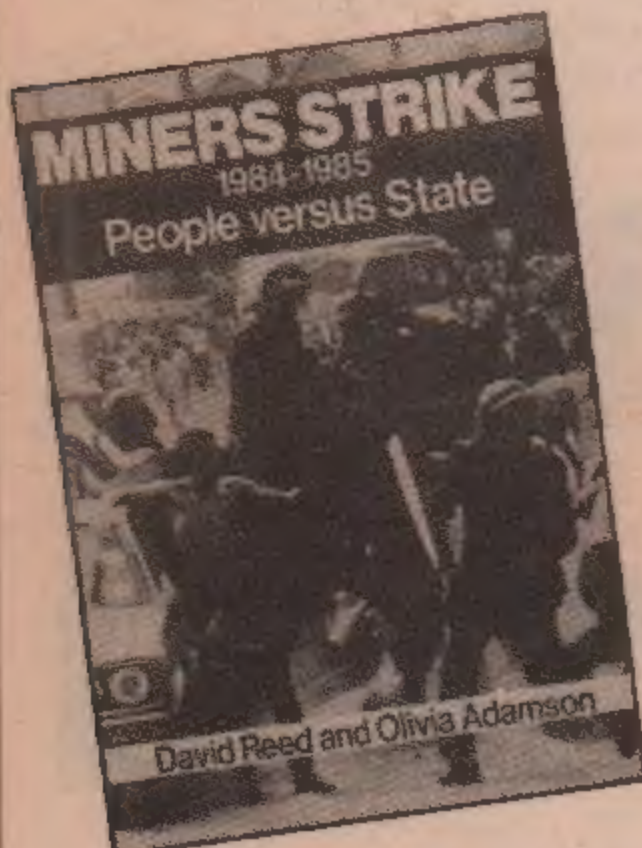
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Ireland: the key to the British revolution by David Reed

450pp, £3.95 + 65p p&p

This book is essential reading for anyone following political developments in Ireland. It contains a detailed history and analysis of the Irish liberation struggle. It explains the basis for loyalist sectarianism and terror which today is once again being directed against the nationalist working class. David Reed's book also shows why the Six County statelet cannot be reformed whatever the claims being made by those proclaiming the Anglo-Irish deal as a step towards reform.



MINERS STRIKE 1984-5

People versus State
David Reed and
Olivia Adamson

144 pp, paperback
£2.50 + 40p postage.

This book contains a detailed analysis of the heroic miners' strike as it took place. There is a diary of events, many photographs, eye-witness accounts of miners' pickets, police actions and other dramatic events. An appendix contains reviews of books and pamphlets published on the strike as it progressed, as well as speeches, articles and statements by striking miners, political activists, political prisoners and others supporting the strike. Together they give a political history of a strike which has transformed political life for hundreds of thousands of people in Britain.

The revolutionary road to communism in Britain Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group

175 pp, £1.50 + 50p postage.

The Manifesto, though published before the 1984-1985 miners' strike, explains many of its central features: the deep split within the working class movement, the role of opportunism in isolating and undermining the struggles of the militant working class and the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary alliance of the oppressed here and abroad against imperialism and opportunism.

Police against the poor

Dear FRFI,

The Home Office sanctions any methods the police wish to use, knowing full well they've got the courts in their pockets. Mind you, it was a different story when a policeman stood trial recently for the killing of John Shorthouse. He, the policeman, had everything done to ensure he did not have to spend a day in custody. I didn't see the press screaming about perverse verdicts when he was acquitted even though his account of events were proven to be lies. No 'Child Killer' labels were put on him.

The new public order act will do nothing but incite an already tense situation on the streets of the inner cities. It's a provocative course of action directed at the poor. The government have spent millions on boosting the arsenal of police weaponry so that a force of racist, anti-working class storm-troopers can go about the country keeping people from expressing their views.

Now they've acquired these lethal weapons the police will feel they have to justify themselves so they will provoke confrontation so causing even more hardship.

The victims of such oppression will once again be the poor. It's small wonder that the youth of today feel so aggrieved when many of them have left school to go into retirement. They have no prospects, no future, no money, as well as being moved on by the police from every corner.

These problems obviously exist but are not highlighted enough. Gullible tourists were led around during the 'Royal Wedding' commenting what a great place London was! They saw the Tower, and such like. Had they gone on a guided tour of the real London, Brixton, Broadwater Farm etc, any preconceptions they had about London being 'great' would soon have diminished once they'd seen the dole queues and run down housing.

Yours in solidarity
Alan Lee Byrne
F Wing punishment block
HM Prison Wakefield

The torch of freedom is not extinguished

Dear FRFI,

With the Labour Party and the CPGB turning more viciously racist and pro-imperialist with each passing day, they are making people disenchanted with left wing politics, but perhaps that is the role of those organisations in society, since all the idealism of the past has been firmly ejected by the agents of reaction who have seized the leadership of those putrid bodies. It is refreshing to know that among all the deceit and hypocrisy there is one organisation in England who condemn imperialism, not just American imperialism, just imperialism. Who will condemn racialism, not on a selective basis, just racialism.

The future looks gloomy, but while the courage and principle of the RCG exists, there is still hope. The torch of freedom has not been totally extinguished.

M Murtagh
Surrey

FRFI FUND DRIVE

Despite summer holiday expenses our readers and supporters did not let us down and we managed to raise £923 during July/August. Individual readers, subscribers and supporters contributed £354—our thanks to you all especially Mary in Canada. The FRFI Supporter Groups raised the remaining £569 with stalls at summer festivals, jumble sales, street collections and similar activities organised to bring in the £500 a month we need to subsidise the unwaged rate of FRFI.

Why don't YOU join a local supporter group and help in the collective effort to raise funds. Or, if there isn't one near you, ask your friends and neighbours if they want to contribute and send the proceeds of that collection to us. Lastly, those of you who want to make a regular commitment to FRFI over and above your subscription to the paper: why not consider making a monthly or weekly pledge. It doesn't have to be much—50 pence a week over a year adds up too!

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SECOND EDITION! with an update to June 1986 South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain

Carol Brickley, Terry O'Halloran, David Reed

64pp, STILL 95p + 30p p&p

With its new update, 'South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain' examines the momentous developments in South Africa in their regional and international context. Apartheid's war against the Frontline States, the occupation of Namibia, the economic crisis in South Africa, the barbaric repression and the mass revolutionary resistance are all covered in this pamphlet and brought up to date.

The pamphlet details the enormous British stake in apartheid and explains the political and economic foundation for Thatcher's obstinate refusal to impose sanctions against apartheid. It also analyses and explains the character of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement showing why, despite the critical situation in South Africa, it has failed to build an effective anti-apartheid movement in this country. Particularly it deals with the dispute between the AAM leadership and the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group which has been expelled from the AAM. In doing so it outlines the political pre-conditions for building a mass movement in Britain to break British collaboration with apartheid.

★ MASS RALLY

154th Day of the Non-Stop Picket

★ ACT AGAINST APARTHEID! ★
★ RELEASE MANDELA NOW! ★

FRIDAY 19 SEPTEMBER 7pm

CONWAY HALL · RED LION SQUARE · LONDON WC1 · (nearest tube Holborn)

Speakers include—Richard Balfe (MEP); Sharon Atkin (PPC Nottingham); Ted Knight (surcharged Lambeth councillor); Carol Brickley (City AA Convenor); David Reed (Revolutionary Communist Group); Viraj Mendis (currently facing deportation); picketers and many others.

There will be liberation songs; an exhibition of 100 days of non-stop picketing and the launch of Norma Kizson's book 'Where Sixpence Lives'. At 10pm there will be a torchlight march to the picket outside the South African embassy.

Labour Party/Militant – not socialists

Dear FRFI,

On the letters page (FRFI 61) I was in total agreement with your reply to Jon (Paisley) about the Labour Party and Militant. The Labour Party has over the past few years let the working class down, first in Ireland and then in the miners' strike. Militant was one of the first to denounce the Brighton bomb. These people are not socialists.

Yours in solidarity
John Schofield
HM Prison Liverpool

Irish POWs' birthdays

Apologies and greetings to all the POWs whose birthdays we missed last month: Tommy Quigley, Stevie Nordonne, Paul Kavanagh and Paul Hill. Many moves have occurred since June. Hugh Doherty, Eddie Butler, and Harry Duggan have been moved from the special security block (SSB) at Parkhurst: Hugh to Wakefield, Eddie to Long Lartin and Harry to Albany. Tommy Quigley, Gerry McDonnell and Peter Sherry are all now in the Parkhurst SSB: Pat Magee is in the Leicester SSB; Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson are in Durham. Natalino Vella and Paul Norney have been moved from Wakefield but their new locations are not known. Brendan Dowd has been moved from Leicester SSB to Frankland. Joe O'Connell has been moved to Gartree and Paul Kavanagh to Leicester SSB. Stevie Nordonne has been moved to Albany, where Billy Grimes is also located. Vince Donnelly is out of Albany on a lie down. Martin Brady has been moved from Hull, we think to Frankland. Paul Hill has been moved to Wormwood Scrubs.

Special birthday greetings to the following POWs: Ronnie McCartney, 463799, HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leicestershire, LE16 7RP. 3 September. Richard Glenholmes (due for release), B32955, HMP Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcestershire, WR11 5TZ. 19 September. Martin Brady, 119087, HMP Frankland, Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham, DH1 5SB. 22 September. Vince Donnelly, 274064, last known location HMP Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, 25 September. We ask our readers to send cards to these comrades, preferably recorded delivery.
Tony Sheridan

MUSIC FROM FRFI

'We are here till
Mandela is free'

7" single by FRFI supporter
Ken Hughes, recorded live on
the Non Stop Picket of the
South African Embassy

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Benefit for the Free the Guildford Four Campaign

with

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267 The Broadway, Wimbledon, SW19
Thursday 25 September at 7.30pm
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FRFI has supporters groups in all the towns and cities we are active in. The supporters groups organise our meetings and forums, and discuss and plan our work. There are regular educational and discussions and the chance for everyone to participate in organising and planning our work.

We need more people contributing to our work—helping to sell and distribute our paper and our publications and to involve more and more people in the work.

If you want to be part of our work fill in the slip below or phone 01 837 1688

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LETTERS

FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

Militant – right wing of Labour Party

Dear FRFI,

In reply to Jon of Paisley who argues that we should not attack 'Militant' and that Militant is trying to 'change the policies of the Labour Party into a real base for a truly socialist government', I would like to give a recent example from Manchester of Militant acting as the right wing of the Party.

Manchester City Council has agreed to invite Sinn Fein councillors on a fraternal delegation to Manchester; the City Council is Labour controlled; Militant, on the other hand, is organising against this. At a meeting of Gorton Labour Party a supporter of Militant, John Byrne (Councillor for Longsight) put a motion attacking the invitation and combined with the right wing of the Party to win the motion by one vote. Which side are they on?

Yours
Chris Procter

Guildford 4

Dear FRFI

On Saturday 23 August there was a massive march in Coatbridge in support of the Guildford 4. 17 Republican bands and RCG, WRP, RCP participated with thousands lining the route. There was a very heavy police presence criminalising the Republican struggle. People were arrested for refusing to leave the march, people were arrested for clapping hands and shouting 'Up the IRA', and wearing pro-Republican T-shirts (confiscated for use as police evidence).

I was arrested and handcuffed in the police van. The cuffs cut my wrist. Others were also handcuffed with too tight cuffs. The police reply to those protesting at this was: 'That'll teach you to come on a Republican march'. In a corner of the van there was a boy who had his head banged on the bar until he was unconscious. I asked the policemen

to let the boy go as his face was going purple. I asked the sergeant to intervene, but he punched me in the face instead. The young boy, still unconscious, began to urinate himself. At this point the policeman kicked him off the bench—much to the amusement of the pigs in the bus.

It was hurting to be so close and unable to help in any way. I'll never forget that.

I was held for the whole weekend, subjected to constant abuse, was refused water and the screws were whistling The Sash all weekend. On the way to court on Monday we were again handcuffed and were constantly told we would not be walking out of court. Most of the charges were trumped-up. The young boy who was brutally beaten was charged with police assault. I was lucky to get bail. Someone else was remanded for 40 days.

Free the Guildford 4
Andy

Fighting for Gay liberation in Glasgow

Dear FRFI,

Glasgow Lesbian and Gay Activist Group (for lesbians and gays) has recently been formed. Our aim is to be (visibly) FIGHTING lesbian, gay and bisexual oppression in Glasgow.

The Group formed out of the Glasgow Lesbian And Gay Youth Movement 'Corrupted Youth' conference held on first weekend in May. On the Sunday, 30 of us marched in Glasgow's May Day march under a banner of 'Glasgow Lesbian And Gay Liberation'. We were the loudest contingent on the march (along with FRFI, of course).

At this point we are building a campaign to reverse Glasgow District Councils recent decision NOT to include lesbians and gay men in the equal opportunities clause of their employment contract. A public meeting and demonstration (like those held in Rugby and Stockport) are in the process of being organised. A significant difference between the Rugby and Stockport situations and the Glasgow situation is that, this time it is a Labour controlled council (59 Labour councillors in a council of 66) who are denying a sense of job security and equal consideration to gay and bisexual women and men. We cannot allow these divisions to exist in the workplace as they only strengthen the arm of the bosses.

We want to build links with lesbian, gay, women's, anti-racist and bisexual groups, and with other progressive social and political groups.

So if you're lesbian or gay and you've got something to shout about, contact us at the following address:
Glasgow Lesbian and Gay Activist Group (or GLAGAG)
Box 19, 340 West Princes St, Glasgow G3

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If you are willing to help the work which FRFI is doing, become an FRFI SUPPORTER.

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ELITE

JOIN THE RCG

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help us build this movement—Join the RCG!!

A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Britain's Labour and trade union movement—Join the RCG!!

I wish to join/receive more information about the RCG

Name _____

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Set up in 1909, MI5 now has a 2,000 strong staff with the task of 'counter-acting espionage and domestic subversion'. The MI5 computer in Curzon St can store information on up to 2 million people.

CND have compiled a dossier of evidence of widescale surveillance, intimidation and infiltration of their membership by the British security services. Much of the information on MI5, which carried out the phone tapping, was supplied by Cathy Massiter, an MI5 Intelligence Officer who resigned last year in protest at the political nature of the work which she was required to do, and in particular over what she insists was the unwarranted order to monitor the conversations of senior members of CND.

The CND pamphlet proves what many have suspected for years: that to be opposed to nuclear weapons and to campaign for disarmament makes millions of people 'subversive', or, at the very least a serious 'threat to public order', in the eyes of the British state. This justifies the use of MI5, Special Branch and Special Atomic Energy Authority Police officers to infiltrate CND and other peace groups, to tap activists' phones, record their movements, their political affiliations and opinions.

MI5 was forced in the early 1970s to concede publicly that membership of CND did not mean sympathy with or membership of the Communist Party, and to declassify CND as a subversive organisation. Cathy Massiter's testimony tells how surveillance actually increased from then onwards.

The information kept on activists will allow the internment of key people in the run up to a nuclear war. At least two activists have discovered that calls to them are sometimes intercepted by an answering machine telling callers that they are not in, and to please leave name, address, phone number and message! Opening of mail is routine.

TAMILS undaunted

Imperialism has woken up to the depth and determination of the Tamil people's struggle for self-determination. The plight of the refugees marooned off the Canadian coast gave the ruling class press the signal to bark its racist and dirty propaganda at the national liberation movement. Their aim is to isolate that movement from support from within the Western imperialist nations. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the powerful vanguard of the movement, was particularly selected for slander. The Tigers have been accused of driving Tamil people from their homes, forcing them to become refugees, and engaging in a drugs racket.

Three years ago the British press afforded itself the indulgence of shedding crocodile tears over the Sri Lankan army's massacre of Tamil civilians. Now, when the Tamil people are mobilised and fighting back, no such qualms inhibit their rush to the side of Jayewardene's fascist regime. Any journalist who dares to hint at the truth about the Sri Lankan army's genocidal campaign can expect to be thrown off the island. Such was the fate of Humphrey Hawksley, BBC and *Guardian* journalist, who witnessed the government's atrocities and had the integrity to report them and to visit the Tamil People's Committees, organs of the newly liberated territories.

Hawksley was interfering with the British and West German governments' attempts to restore Jayewardene's reputation. Integral to this are the refugees.



Villupillai Prabhakaran

For as long as Western European governments define the Tamils as bona-fide refugees, the victims of persecution, then, by implication, Jayewardene's

The activities of Britain's 'secret services' have become a bit less secret recently. CND's pamphlet *Offence of the Realm*, published just prior to their High Court Action against the government over the tapping of one of their senior officer's phones, and the continuing effort by the government to suppress publication of the memoirs of a former deputy director of MI5, have drawn attention to the activities of Britain's secret police.

The government need neither confirm or deny that mail is being monitored. The Post Office officially denies involvement and blames accident and bad packaging, but individual postal workers themselves admit knowing of large scale interception of mail.

More informative than phone taps is the use of 'bugs': these can be placed in rooms and offices within four feet of the phone and activated by a sonar device from anywhere in the world.

Memoirs banned

That the former deputy director of MI5, Peter Wright, should state in his memoirs that MI5 bugged allied countries' embassies, bugged diplomatic conferences at Lancaster House, including those that led to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1979, that it plotted the assassination of Nasser and against the Labour government of Harold Wilson, is hardly surprising.

MI5 are the secret political police, the infiltrators, the provocateurs, the interrogators and assassins employed by the British ruling class, and the contents of Peter Wright's and Cathy Massiter's disclosures are only to be expected. It is always remarkable how speedily the ruling class dispenses with notions like 'democracy' when its interests are under threat. Faithful ruling class servant, Sir John Donaldson, Master of the Rolls, dismissed the appeal by *The Guardian* and *Observer* newspapers against a High Court order which banned them from publishing details of unlawful and criminal acts by MI5 on the grounds of threatening British security.

The British state is determined to silence Peter Wright even in Australia where he now lives. It has instructed Sir Michael Havers to prepare a case for

British spies at home and abroad

MI5 and MI6 are Britain's secret police and spies. Maggie Mellon and Trevor Rayne look at recent exposures of their activities at home and abroad.

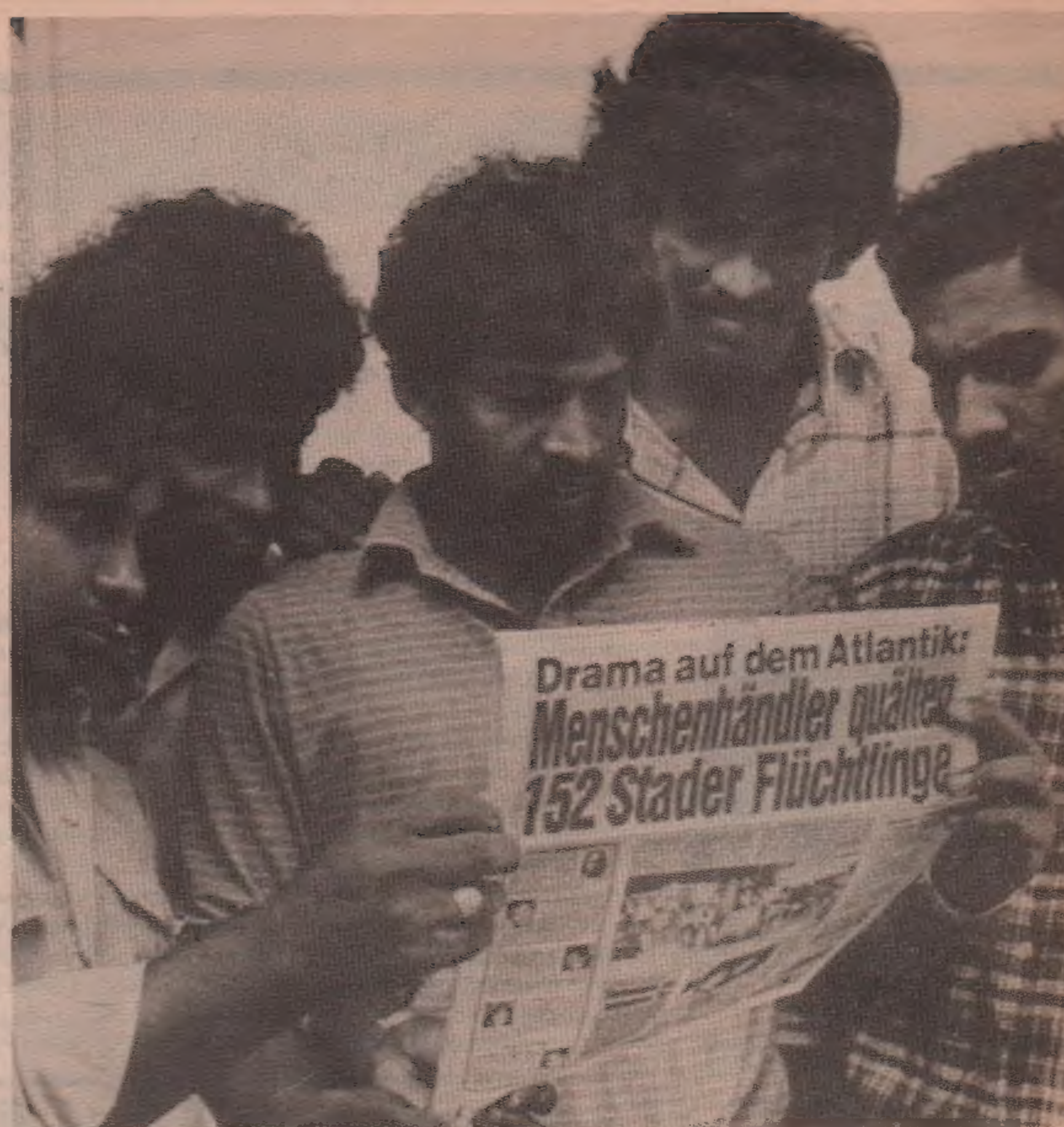


MI5 Headquarters in Curzon Street

presentation to the Australian courts this autumn, seeking to prevent Wright's book being published in Australia. In a strange legal manoeuvre, the British government has accepted in court that everything in the book is true, while continuing to deny all Wright's allegations outside the court. Civil Service chief, Sir Robert Armstrong, is to be the chief witness.

If all these names seem familiar, we must point out that Havers was the prosecution barrister in the Guildford Four frame-up, and Donaldson the judge! And Armstrong is the man who saved Thatcher's bacon over the Westland affair. Once again, the ruling class uses its tried and tested apparatus for covering up its dirty work.

Maggie Mellon Trevor Rayne



Tamil refugees in West Germany — the headline reads: 'Atlantic drama — 152 refugees tortured by human traffickers'

government is criticised. That luxury too can no longer be afforded: Jayewardene, now plays the peace loving democrat, and, by implication, the refugees are frauds or the victims of the Tamil liberation organisations.

Phoney peace talks

The propaganda campaign coincides with the so-called 'peace talks' held in July and August between the Sri Lankan government and the bourgeois-led Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). These talks are designed both to refurbish Jayewardene's image and to divide

the Tamil people. They have met with mass protests from within the liberated areas of Tamil Eelam. The Tigers and the Eelam National Liberation Front have criticised the TULF's attempts to negotiate a settlement on behalf of the Tamil people. Villupillai Prabhakaran, the Tigers' leader, condemned the TULF's silence on the killing of 67 Tamil civilians by the Sri Lankan army during the talks. TULF backed into a nervous retreat saying 'There has been no finality reached on any of the matters. The militants have to be a part of any negotiation process.'

continued on page 11

The 24 July *New York Times* confirmed the lengths to which the British and US governments will go in defence of their strategic and mineral interests in South Africa. Journalist Seymour Hersh records the recollections of a former US National Security Agency (NSA) official who attended a meeting at GCHQ Cheltenham in 'the mid 1980's'. British, US and South African military intelligence officers exchanged information and proposed new targets.

In exchange for South African reports on 'Soviet and Cuban activity in Angola and Mozambique, as well as Soviet shipping and submarine activity around the Cape of Good Hope' Britain and the US agreed to provide South Africa with details of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana. The NSA official added that 'they also wanted any and all tasking related to the ANC, including the movements of Oliver Tambo. We got a list of 10 people on Tambo's staff—the ANC High Command—and they wanted information from us'. The request 'appeared routine'.

Not surprisingly the British Foreign Office had 'no comment', but the Labour Party was curiously, and significantly, silent on the scandal. GCHQ operates surveillance stations in Pretoria, Lusaka in Zambia, Swaziland, Malawi and Ascension Island. The Lusaka station intercepts communications from the ANC's Headquarters while the others monitor Angola, Mozambique and Namibia.

British police and military collaboration with apartheid is long established. In 1974 the Labour government made a show of ending the Simonstown Agreement that gave base rights to the Royal Navy at a port near Cape Town. At the same time the British personnel were to be removed from the Silvermine communications centre, also near Cape Town. This electronic spying system with a range of 3000 miles was manned

and equipped by GCHQ staff. However, in 1976, following the victorious Mozambique and Angolan revolutions, Britain, the US and South Africa drew up a programme for applying pressure on those African countries supporting the newly liberated nations and SWAPO in Namibia. The Labour government licenced the export of equipment for the South African surveillance system, including a Marconi long range 'troposcatter' for use in Namibia.

In 1975-76 the Labour government allowed the mercenary John Banks to recruit ex-British soldiers for UNITA to fight the MPLA government in Angola. Among the mercenaries were MI6 officers.

More recently, South African police have been shown Essex Constabulary's computerised information gathering system, the kind of equipment that will have been used to target detainees in the current State of Emergency, and British soldiers on paid leave have been filming giving weapons training to the racists in South Africa.

So long as British and US capitalists make profits out of apartheid so their armed forces will connive with their South African counterparts to defend them. Integral to this lethal network of spies, assassins and mass murderers is the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square.

Trevor Rayne